

*Mary Ann A Beresford*

# RELATION

OF THE

MISSIONS

OF

PARAGUAY.

Wrote Originally in ITALIAN,

BY

Mr. MURATORI, *K*

And now done into ENGLISH from the  
FRENCH TRANSLATION.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for J. MARMADUKE in *Long-Acre.*

M.DCC.LIX.







THE  
ADVERTISEMENT  
OF THE  
FRENCH TRANSLATOR.

THE motives that induced the celebrated Mr. *Muratori* to publish this work, have engaged me to translate it. Those who sincerely desire the progress and glory of Religion will peruse it, I hope, with real pleasure; and those who read purely to be informed, may find something that will satisfy their curiosity.

The merit and reputation of the author, Mr. *Muratori*, is a very great advantage to a work of this nature. Some have complained, that the relations we have of *Paraguay* are only from Jesuits. The relation we offer to the public comes from a learned author, who had no connexions with that Society, that could leave room for any suspicion.

One may object, that Mr. *Muratori* seems to write mostly from the memoirs of Jesuits; but he himself has prevented this objection, and often repeats in his Book, that he has spared no pains to come at the truth of the facts he

relates, and that he relates nothing of which he was not assured.

Several circumstances gave him an opportunity of being thoroughly informed of the subject he took in hand ; and especially the frequent conversations he had with the Prince of *Santo Bueno*.

This Prince, after he had been several years viceroy of *Peru*, returned to *Italy*, his native country, and staid a considerable time at *Bologna*. The high employs he had gone through in the *West Indies*, had procured him means to be well acquainted with what passed in the southern parts of *America* subject to *Spain* ; and he took pleasure in communicating to Mr. *Muratori* such lights as were necessary for the composing of his work. I wave other sources of information mentioned by this celebrated *Italian* Writer. It suffices to observe with him, that so many attestations sent into *Spain* year after year by the Bishops and Governors of the Provinces, on which the Missions of *Paraguay* depend, form as demonstrative a proof in favour of the Missionaries, as can be had in such a matter.

After he had used all the means, which the prudence and penetration of a solid Scholar can suggest to ascertain material facts, no one can, without great injustice and partiality, blame the author, if in other matters he relies on the accounts of the Missionaries.

Knowing the truth was not the only fruit

*Muratori*



of the French Translator.

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*Muratori* reaped from his searches into the Missions of *Paraguay*, he found a pleasure, which every one has not his disposition to relish. He was transported with a most sensible joy, when he observed the victories, which Religion has gained, and continues to gain in the new world. Glorious conquests of the Ministers of the Gospel; many souls wrested from the grossest Idolatry; numbers of people, who formerly might pass rather for wild-beasts than rational creatures, drawn up under the standard of *Jesus Christ*, and reviving by their fervour the brightest days of primitive Christianity, gave his soul the greatest comfort. He is seized with raptures, and his heart overflows, when he speaks of the Missions of *Paraguay*. He invites all true Catholics to peruse his Book, and to enjoy this glorious Scene, which does so much honour to the church, and which clearly shews that it still retains the primitive spirit of christianity, delivered by *Jesus Christ* to his Apostles; and which it is in vain to seek among Sectaries. Our learned author even dares to defy them producing any thing of this nature in their behalf.

*Muratori* was not one of those Scholars puffed up with learning, who upon their having made some progress in human Sciences, imagine that nothing goes beyond what they know, and who would be apprehensive of ranking with the vulgar, if they shewed the respect, that is due to religion. His extensive knowledge served  
only



only to strengthen his faith, and he not only respected, but loved Religion tenderly. This same author who has published so many works in every branch of literature, could find time to compose several treatises of piety. But his zeal for the church appears no where more conspicuous, than in this performance, whereof we give a translation. Here may be observed, how sensibly he was interested in the welfare of Religion; since every thing breathes that warm and prudent zeal which characterises the true Christian.

In the translation I have ventured on some slight alterations in that learned *Italian's* work, which it behoves me to give some account of to the reader. Nothing new has been added, but a few explanations that seemed to be wanting, which in the whole do not exceed six pages: besides they relate to points not very material, such as the description of the herb of *Paraguay*, which Mr. *Muratori* frequently mentions, without ever acquainting the Reader what it is.

I have taken a greater liberty in cutting off some things; that is, I have suppressed repetitions, and some particular and useless accounts foreign to the subject. I have transposed from one chapter to another some facts that seemed to be misplaced, and ranked them among facts wherewith they appeared to be more connected.

The first Chapters of *Muratori's* Book are  
taken

taken up with a *prolix* narrative of the southern Parts of *America* subject to *Spain*. He tells us, he writes chiefly for such Persons as are but little versed in what regards that side of the new world, and that among his readers there may likely be some, who have not even heard of the name of *Paraguay*. As we on this side of the *Alps* are usually more knowing in such matters, I have reduced the author's account to half the length; but yet the substance is preserved, and especially what can throw any light on the principal object of his Book; however it may still appear too long. But in quality of a Translator I did not think I was obliged to cut more off.

The only place where I have not faithfully followed my author, is where he treats of the cruelties used by the *Spaniards*, who first came into *America*. Were nothing advanced but facts, it is useless to dwell on odious accounts; and to me it seems somewhat unjust to reproach the present *Spaniards* with what was done by some of their ancestors two centuries ago. The strong ties that unite *France* and *Spain*, and the commendations so justly due on many respects to the *Spanish* nation, particularly at a time, when it daily flourishes more and more, require prudence and a cautious reserve, which will not be thought unseasonable.

I have been more circumspect in what concerns the Missions of *Paraguay*, and have made it my business to stick close to the Author, and

even to follow him in his minutest accounts; yet I have retrenched a good deal; but this was in confining the style, which is perhaps too diffused in Mr *Muratori*, and lopping off every thing that savoured of panegyric. The best manner of praising is to relate facts. Those which are read here shine abundantly, and of themselves form a sufficient and ample *Eulogium* of the Missionaries in *Paraguay*, without need of additional reflections to point out their value and merit. The very title of the work in *Italian* appeared something too pompous, which is, *The happy state of christianity in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in Paraguay*; but I have reduced it to the greatest simplicity, and in this have only taken the privilege Translators have of humouring the genius of their own language.

By these several ways the work comes out a third part shorter than in the *Italian*, and has three chapters less: not that these are entirely omitted; but as there appeared nothing in them very material, what was worth the Reader's notice I have more properly placed in other chapters.

I had proposed giving an abstract of the life of the Author, who died advanced in years at *Modena* 1750, but I have been prevented, and those, who desire to be more particularly informed concerning this man, one of the greatest ornaments of *Italy*, may consult the sixth volume of the new critical literary memoirs

of



of History, by the Abbot d'Artigny. There a list may be seen of all the works he published; works equally to be admired for the variety, the importance of the subjects, and elegance of the style.

N. B. The same reasons prevailed with the *English Translator* to give Mr. *Muratori's* Relation of the Missions of *Paraguay* rather from the *French* Copy, than the *Italian* original, which he hopes he has done without any injury to the Relation, or to the reader.

Since Mr. *Muratori* published his work, there has come out an historical account more in full of the said Missions, by Father *Charlevoix* a *French* Historian of no small repute; but as his work would be both very expensive, and perhaps tedious, as being in six volumes, and moreover from the pen of a Jesuit, it might not be so well relished, or credited in a Country not very favourable to that set of men; upon which the publisher of the present Relation judged that this would give a sufficient and well timed satisfaction to the religious or curious Reader, and be a fairer account of the proceedings both of the *Paraguayan* Jesuits and their Neophytes, than what has been industriously and maliciously spread about the world by their enemies, and some pretended christians, and which has not failed of being largely commented on here, according to the spirit of veracity and truth so distinguishable of late in our public Papers.

THE

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T H E  
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

WHEN I undertook this small work, I was in hopes of giving the Readers a double pleasure. The first, tho' least considerable, is that which commonly attends the perusal of the narratives of Travellers; I don't mean Travellers of little credit, who bury truth under heaps of romantic adventures, and fabulous tales; but the wise and understanding Travellers, who relate faithfully what they have seen, and know the estimate which is to be set on what they see. If travelling were not so expensive, nor so dangerous and fatiguing, most would take the pleasure of viewing the different parts of the world. It would above all be agreeable to be a spectator of the manners and customs of nations, which are as different as their dress and complexion. But if our situation allows us not the pleasure of travelling, let us at least own that we are obligated to those, who after visiting the most distant climes, have been at the pains of giving us an account of them. They have discovered a method of conducting us in some measure about with them, and of associating us in their pleasures without any share in their fatigues. This pleasure increases in proportion to the  
greater

greater distance of the nations described; the less they are known to us, and the more their ways differ from ours. All these particulars are found in the nations I am about to describe: these inhabit the inland parts of *South America*, or the vast continent of *Paraguay*, a name under which I comprehend all those immense tracts of land, that stretch east and west from *Brasil*, to the mountains called *Cordillera's*.

Some Travellers excepted, few *Europeans* have had the curiosity of visiting *Paraguay*, and fewer are led thither by a desire of growing rich. The Country is ill suited to the purpose, and for this Reason it is very little known, particularly to the *Italians*. There is an infinity of people, mostly savages, the omission of whose names, it is thought, the Reader will easily dispense with. Taking a view of a Country almost unknown to our days, will undoubtedly please the Reader, tho' he only finds an occasion of learning something new: every new point of knowledge being a valuable acquisition to the mind, let the object be never so trifling.

All will not be equally affected with the pleasure which is offered here to the Reader. That is only for true Catholics to enjoy fully. They will see with what success our holy Religion continues to spread among numbers of nations, who were formerly engaged in the darkness of Idolatry. They will observe, with joy not to be expressed, the present flourishing state.



state of the new christian Colonies. The sight will make them break out into demonstrations of the satisfaction they take in the considerable additions daily made to the kingdom of Jesus Christ upon Earth. I have not scrupled to assert, that the Catholic church has no where such flourishing missions, as those of *Paraguay*. And I hope that all who will take the pains to peruse this small work, will be fully convinced of what I have advanced.

But how is it possible I should write on so distant a part of the world, who never stept out of *Italy*, and hardly ever out of *Modena*? I have conveyed myself in thought into *Paraguay*, where I have beheld those flourishing Missions, if not with my own eyes, at least with those of persons whose testimony one may certainly rely on; and I can without fear warrant the truth of whatever I relate.

Father *Cajetan Cattaneo*, a Jesuit and a *Modenese*, arrived in *Paraguay* in 1729. He went from his native country in 1726. He was taken ill in the reduction of *St. Rose*, and died of a malignant fever the 26th of *August* 1733, equally regretted by his Brethren and his Neophytes, on account of his extraordinary accomplishments, which got him the love of all, and made every one desire the pleasure of his acquaintance. This amiable missionary had a peculiar talent in discovering the good and the bad of each People and clime. He knew how

to describe matters with an admirable exactness and elegance, and to give a graceful turn to all he said. Nothing can be more agreeable than the Letters he wrote from *Seville*, and the delicious Port of *St. Mary* near *Cadiz*, to the late Mr. *Joseph Cattaneo*, his brother. Mrs. *Mary Belloni Cattaneo*, widow of Mr. *Cattaneo*, was so obliging as to communicate them to me; their being foreign to the subject is the reason they are not transcribed here. I will give the Public three of *F. Cattaneo's* Letters, which contain the account of his voyage from *Cadiz* to his Mission. I wish I could have added some other Letters of his, which he wrote to Mr. *Francis Baglioni*, a noble *Venetian*, his intimate friend, wherein he informed him in particular of all that concerned *Paraguay*; as also some of *F. Gervasoni's* Letters that fell into the hands of the said nobleman. But he had some time ago delivered them up to Mr. *Algarotti*, who intended to publish them; and it is believed that *Algarotti* has taken them along with him into *Prussia*, which has been the occasion that neither I, nor the public, have been the better for them. Had Heaven been pleased to grant *F. Cattaneo* a longer life, it is probable, that this amiable and worthy missionary would have exhausted the subject, and that we should now have a full account of *Paraguay* from his hand.

He had however sent to his brother a *Relation* of the *Paraguay* Missions, composed about

1690, by a *Spanish* Prebend, and acknowledged to be genuine throughout the whole by all such as were qualified to judge of it; and another writing entitled, *La Relacion Historial de las Misiones de los Indios, que llaman chiquitos*. This work of F. *John Patrick Fernandes* was printed at *Madrid* 1726. These are the chief Memoirs I have followed. I have also consulted some other Books, which, tho' they only speak of *Paraguay* incidentally, yet they have sometimes supplied me with important facts.

I am not unapprised that several writers have handled the subject before. The annual Letters of the Society of *Jesus*, which formerly were printed, contain many particulars concerning these Missions. In them may be seen with what ardour the first Missionaries laboured in the conversion of Infidels, tho' the success did not answer their pains. There is still a Book intituled, *Jacobi Ransonier S. J. Annue Paraguariae Annorum, 1626 & 1627*; and another of F. *Nicholas Mastrilli* under the like Title. I have also had before me the following Books, viz. *Francisci Labier S. J. Annue Paraguariae Annorum 1635, & duorum sequentium, Adami Schimbeck Messis Paraguariensis, five annales illius Provinciae, ab Anno 1638, ad 1643*. A Relation of *Paraguay* from 1635 to 1637, put out in *Spanish* by F. *Philibert Moner*, and translated into *French* by *Francis Hamal*. *Antonii Ruiz de Montoyo de Missa sub Christi jugum Paraguaria... Nicolai del Techo Historia Provinciae*



*Provinciae Paraguariae Societatis Jesu: a Book*  
said to be very uncommon. *Jacobi de Machault*  
*Relationes de Paraguaria.*

The above Books, wrote mostly in *Latin*, are known to few now-a-days; and besides they recount only what passed in *Paraguay* a hundred years ago. They are of little service to acquaint us with the present state of Religion in those parts. Formerly the Fathers of the Society chiefly applied themselves to making frequent excursions into *South America*.

From time to time they converted a few *Indians*; but no christian Colonies were settled, nor was there a church of the true Religion to be seen then in *Paraguay*. The chief and almost only fruit of so much labour, was the baptising some dying infant. The adult, or grown up persons, who embraced the faith, were usually removed from among the Infidels, and persuaded to fix in places inhabited by Christians.

The face of things is now greatly altered. The cross triumphs in those barbarous Countries; a great number of colonies adore the true God, and enjoy the greatest happiness that can be wished.

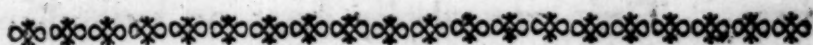
Such is the scene which will be exhibited here to the Reader. I can answer for the goodness of the memoirs that served by way of materials for the work. I only could have wished for a more particular account of the nature of the Country, their plants, beasts, and birds; the qualities of the soil; the fishing, and hunting

ting of the Indians, with other informations of the like nature, which would have afforded all the charms of Novelty. My enquiries on these heads have procured me but very superficial notions. However I shall say enough to give the Reader a tolerable idea of a Country, that is so immense, and so remote from us, and the commerce of *Europe*. In a word, of a Country, whose very name will appear quite new to some *Italians*.





A  
R E L A T I O N  
O F T H E  
MISSIONS of *PARAGUAY.*



*The Design of this Work.*

AMONG all the marks that serve  
to distinguish the Catholic Church  
from sects delivered over to error;  
the ardent zeal she has ever shewn  
for the propagation of the Gospel  
is one that strikes us most. Guided at all times  
by the same spirit of charity, it has never ceased  
sending into divers parts of the earth fervent  
labourers to plant the true faith. There has  
always been within her Communion, a number  
of persons courageous enough to undertake  
without reserve, all the fatigues of so painful  
an employ, and to expose themselves to all the  
dangers that are inseparable from so arduous a  
task. Not to run back to distant ages, we need  
B only



only to cast an eye on the time that has passed since the discovery of the new World. What an innumerable multitude of Missionaries have flocked to cultivate those waste Countries? Is there any tract ever so barbarous that has not been sprinkled with their sweat, and rendered fruitful by the blood they have shed? Have we not heard of several, even in our days, who have died for Religion like the first Apostles of the Gospel, after they had led holy lives like theirs?

Let the modern Sectaries be considered; this heroic charity will not be found amongst them. They are wholly bent on extending their dominions, and leave the bringing over of Idolaters and Infidels to the belief of the Gospel to the Missionaries of the Catholic Church, and freely resign to them the inestimable advantage of being consumed with evangelical labours, and exposing their lives to enlarge the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

Hence the Church in Communion with *Rome* is the only one that keeps up the first spirit of Christianity: She alone, like the primitive Church, abounds in Apostles and Martyrs; hence she alone is the true spouse of the Saviour of mankind.

If the Missions of the Catholic Church are an honour to her, as being a proof of the zeal that animates her, and which can only come from the Holy Ghost; the fervour of the Neophytes in those Missions adds infinitely more to her

her glory. Their lives recal to our memory, and faithfully represent those of the first Believers: Their whole deportment assures their being children of the same Church that was formerly the admiration of the heathen World; and this is what every one may be convinced of, by the perusing of this work.

Hereupon I thought that nothing could be more glorious to the Church, than a description of her Missions; and I pitched on those of *Paraguay* established and directed by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. I undertake this subject so much the more willingly, because what concerns *Paraguay* is commonly little known, especially in *Italy*, either as to the manner how Christianity was first introduced, or the progress it daily makes, or its present flourishing state. I shall present the Reader with a faithful account of that blissful Country; he will see men, perhaps the most barbarous that ever were heard of, changed into fervent Christians; commonwealths, that scarce know any other laws than those of the Gospel, and where the sublimest virtues of Christians are become, if I may use the expression, common virtues. It imports to the edification of the christian world, and the honour of the Catholic Church, that so fine an establishment, and so many virtues worthy our veneration, as well in the Missionaries as the Neophytes, should remain no longer unknown.

But before I enter on the subject, I cannot well avoid giving some previous account of the Country, inhabited by the people, of whom I intend to speak ; without this I should not be so easily understood by most of my Readers.

Besides something should be said of its ancient condition, that a better judgment may be framed of the present. This shall be done as briefly as possible, in the first chapter of the Book:

### C H A P. I.

*Of South-America. Extent of the Spanish and Portuguese Territories in that Part of the World.*

THE *West-Indies* were discovered in the year 1491, by *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoese*, and took their name of *America* from *Americus Vespucius* a *Florentine*. They are divided into two parts, and known under the names of *South* and *North-America*. The South part alone might be computed a fifth part of the World, as being near equal to *Africa*, and much larger than *Europe*. The figure of it is very near triangular ; and if credit is to be given to some Geographers, it is 3900 miles in length from North to South, and 3600 miles in breadth from East to West. Geographers and Travellers are not as yet agreed on this point, which at present is not very material.

What



## Of South-America.

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What is most remarkable in *South-America*, are two of the largest Rivers on the Globe. The one is the *Maragnon*, or the River of the *Amazons*, called so by the first *Europeans*, who sailed up there and saw the women armed with bows and arrows on that River. It rises from the highest mountains of *Peru*, and after a course of 3000 or 3600 miles disembogues itself into the *Atlantick* ocean, where the mouth of that River is 50 leagues over.

The other large River is *Rio de la Plata*, or the Silver River. It runs from North to South, and is better than 40 leagues over, where it opens into the sea.

The *Spaniards* pretend, that all *South-America*, *Brazil* excepted, is subject to the King of *Spain*. This is rather a pretended, than a real right. From some Relations it is fancied, that some Princes of *Europe*, who enjoy some possessions in *America*, are entirely masters of the vast tracts within that compass.

But strictly speaking, the Sea-coasts are the most they possess, or, where they have Towns with a territory, it is commonly of no great extent. The inland parts are mostly inhabited by people little known, who still enjoy entire freedom, and dread nothing more than to receive laws from *Europeans*.

Thus *Brazil*, which belongs to *Portugal*, is divided into many Governments not far from the Coast, except where there are Silver and Gold Mines. A discovery has also been made

there of a Mine of Diamonds, so much the more to be valued, because hitherto the Kingdom of *Golconda* in *Asia* has been the only spot, where precious stones were found. In short the *Portuguese* Dominions reach no where above 100 leagues within land. The rest of the *Brazils* is still in the possession of the ancient owners.

On the Western Coast the King of *Spain* possesses *Peru* and *Chili*, those rich and famed Provinces: for hence comes that prodigious quantity of Gold and Silver, which we see from time to time conveyed to *Cadiz*, and the *Spaniards* faithfully parcel out the treasure among other nations of *Europe*; and these by a great mistake in trade suffer this treasure to be lost and buried in *Turky*, *Persia*, *Indostan*, and the other Kingdoms of *Asia*. Besides this the *Spanish* Monarch possesses on the Northern Coast, *New Castile*, *New Andalusia*, and *New Granada*. The *Spaniards* possessed of those fruitful Provinces, have made some conquests towards the South, and built some Towns. Lastly, towards the South the King of *Spain* is master of the immense Tracts comprehended under the name of *Paraguay*, of which we shall speak more at large.

What is said of the *South*, must be said in proportion of *North America*, where there are still more nations utterly unknown. The great River of *Mississipi* is said to water above 1800 miles of land, before it is discharged into the  
Gulph

Gulph of *Mexico*. A *French* man, \* who went almost alone to discover this Country, took possession of it for the Crown of *France*: and in order to bring so many nations dispersed on each side of the River, under the King his Master's Dominion, he erected, by way of taking possession, a large Cross with the arms of *France*, a great way up the Country.

The Princes of *Europe* meet with several difficulties in extending their conquests very far in *America*. The first is, the love of liberty so natural to man, and which equally affects the savages, as well as ourselves; for they will not leave any means untried to avoid slavery. Numbers are wanted to subdue them, especially in *Spain*, which is not overstocked with people, and whose Dominions are too vast, considering the fewness of the inhabitants since the discovery of the new world; upon which the *Spaniards* have work enough on their hands to maintain their former acquisitions. Besides, the Colonies of *Europeans*, which are proposed to be settled in *America*, are always in danger of being soon destroyed by the change of Climate; and they are too much exposed to the incursions of the Natives, who are constantly upon the watch to seize every advantage, which the weakness of new establishments always affords to an enemy.

But the *Spaniards* themselves have contributed the most to make the *Indians* invincible.

Many

\* M. De la Salle.



Many sorts of *Indians* reduced to small numbers and always wandering, are now the melancholy remains of flourishing nations, whom the *Spaniards* have destroyed. All the Savages are informed from their infancy with what those *Indians* have suffered, and still suffer, who are under the yoke. The tyrannic manner of commanding, and the loose lives they observe in numbers of the Christians, equally astonish, shock, and scandalize them. As they neglected gaining them by fair and gentle means, they can only hope to bring them under by force and violence. The *Indians* oppose force to force; or where they find they are over-matched, they avoid by flight the servitude that hung over their heads.

I will not enlarge on the cruel and barbarous treatment, which had been reproached to the first *Spanish* Conquerors; few Authors having handled the subject impartially.

Some, either to render the *Spaniards* odious, or from other motives, seem to magnify objects; whose narratives have all the air of declamation. The history of *Bartholomew de las Casas*, a Dominican of *Seville*, and afterwards Bishop of *Chiapa* in *Mexico*, is in this strain. This Prelate, otherwise a great and good man, had indeed been an ocular witness in part of what he wrote; and had taken great pains to save the *Indians* from the sword of his Countrymen; but his great zeal did not leave him entirely at liberty, to see calmly, and to judge well

well of what passed. Others seem to undertake too much, when they offer to vindicate the Conquerors of *America* in all their conduct: for it must be owned, that their courage degenerated sometimes into barbarity.

But not to enter into deductions that are foreign to the principal object of this work, it is sufficient to observe, that the *Indians* who survived the conquest, and who by removing to a great distance, were out of the reach of the *Spaniards*, conceived an implacable hatred against the *Europeans*, and of course against their religion. The sad effects of this aversion are felt daily.

Parents transmit it to their children; and it will probably pass to the latest generation. This is so much the more to be feared; because tho' the blood of *Indians* is not shed any longer in such quantities as it was formerly, yet the people who have submitted to the *Spaniards*, have continued to meet with very hard usage. The Catholic Kings have issued at several times, but in vain, Decrees full of humanity, to ease the yoke of their new subjects: for those parts have never been without persons, who, secure at such a distance from the sovereign, have promised themselves impunity for the greatest crimes, and have met with too much success in their execrable schemes. They have trampled all divine and human laws under their feet, and without any regard to the real interest of church and state, have only listened to their passions.

passions. We shall soon speak more fully of the excesses to which they abandoned themselves.

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## C H A P. II.

*The Provinces belonging to the King of Spain in the Southern Parts of South-America ; a Description of Paraguay.*

**A**LL the Sea-coast of *Brazil* belongs to the *Portuguese*, who formerly pretended to extend their Dominions to the banks of *Rio de la Plata* ; but notwithstanding their pretensions, the *Spaniards* have always claimed that part of the coast, which lies between *Cape St. Vincent* and the mouth of the River, tho' they have not yet made any settlement there. The *Portuguese* however have raised a Fort in the Island of *St. Gabriel*, over against *Buenos Ayres* ; and have maintained their ground in spite of all the attempts from the *Spaniards* to dispossess them. \* This settlement has been very prejudicial to the *Spanish* Nation, as will appear afterwards. But the Country I have just

\* This Settlement of the *Portuguese* is called the new Colony, or the Colony of the B. Sacrament. The King of *Portugal* has made an exchange of it for some Tracts of *Paraguay*, adjoining to the *Brazils*, which the King of *Spain* engaged to grant him, by a treaty made in the Summer of 1752, but which has not yet taken place.



just mentioned, is inhabited only by savages, and those few in number.

The Kings of *Spain* have divided the immense Regions they possess between *Brazil* and *Peru*, into four Provinces or Governments; viz. *Magellan*, *Tucuman*, *Paraguay*, and *Rio de la Plata*. Within these governments are contained the Provinces of *Ciaco*, *Parana*, *Guaira*, and *Uruguay*.

The government of *Magellan* is the most southern; its extent from North to South is about 990 miles, and it terminates in a point at the *Magellanic* Streights, which are so named, as it is well known, from *Magellan*, who first discovered this passage into the South-Seas. The inhabitants of *Magellan* are called *Patagons*; and are mostly of a gigantic size, and not less fierce than they are robust, living in Forests without laws or religion. Tho' the *Spaniards* give themselves out as masters of this spacious tract, yet they still want the consent of the *Patagons* to be in peaceable possession. A Fort or two built on the *Magellanic* Streights were soon destroyed, the garrisons placed there being quickly reduced to starve for want, cold, and misery: for the *Magellanic* is much exposed to the severity of the winter; yet there are good Pastures, fine Forests, plenty of Cattle, and Fish in abundance.

The Province of *Tucuman*, on the north west of *Paraguay*, is preferable to that of *Magellan*, the air being more temperate, and the soil more fruitful.

fruitful. It is watered by two large and very pisculent Rivers, that overflow their banks in the rainy season, and fertilize the plains. As the country abounds with excellent Pastures, there is yearly a prodigious increase of horned cattle, Sheep, Deer, &c. One meets with game at every step, and may often take it with the hand ; especially Pigeons and Partridges, very short indeed in taste of those in *Europe*. Many sorts of Cottons and woolen-stuffs are manufactured here, and a very fine mine of Rock-salt has been lately discovered.

They reckon in this Province three Towns built by the *Spaniards*, viz. St. *Jago's of L'Esterro*. St. *Michael's*, and *Cordova*. At *Cordova* the Jesuits have a celebrated University, much frequented by the *Spanish* youth, who design to be instructed in the liberal sciences. Some other *Spanish* settlements with few inhabitants scattered here and there in the vast plains of *Tucuman*, have the name of Towns. They are said to be at the distance of 150 or 180 miles from one another.

The Provinces of *Rio de la Plata* and *Paraguay*, have four principal Towns ; the *Assumption*, the capital of *Paraguay* ; *Buenos Ayres*, the capital of *Rio de la Plata* ; *Corrientes*, and *Santafé*. The two first have each a Bishop. The *Assumption* is about 600 miles from *Santafé*, and *Santafé* about 270 from *Buenos Ayres*. The *Spaniards* had founded some other small Towns in the *Parana* and *Uruguay* ; but most of these have

have been destroyed by the *Mamelusses*, a sort of people; an account of whom will shortly be given.

These Countries want nothing to equal the best in *Europe*, but to be cultivated by men more inclined to labour. The thick woods that grow almost every where of themselves; the ever-green plains that reach from *Buenos Ayres* to *Cordova*, are an unquestionable proof of a fruitful soil; to say nothing of the innumerable herds of cattle, and wild horses, to be seen about *Buenos Ayres*. But the prodigious increase of cattle is a peculiar property of *South-America*. I am indebted for this remark to a very judicious person, who served the King of *Spain* many years in this part of the new world, and had seen almost every part of it.

The horses, horned cattle, and several other beasts that are to be seen in such quantities in *America*, came originally from those the *Spaniards* brought with them, when they first settled here. Some of these domestic animals strayed from their masters, to be at liberty in the woods; and it is not easy to conceive how they have multiplied, considering the numbers of lions, tygers, bears, wild dogs, and wild cats, their perpetual enemies; and the surprize must be still greater when one hears what numbers are yearly slaughtered by the inhabitants. \*

As

\* *Vid.* the third letter of *F. Cattaneo* at the end of this work.



As I shall chiefly treat of the people that live in *Paraguay*, a more circumstantial account of this Province will be expected ; and I will not disappoint my readers. But I must premise, that I understand by the name of *Paraguay*, not only the Province that goes under this name, but all the Countries, where the Fathers of the Society of Jesus have established their flourishing Missions, which will be laid in this work before the Reader, that is, almost the whole interior part of *South-America*.

*Paraguay* owes its name to the great and capital River, in the same manner as the Province known by the name of *Rio de la Plata* does to the lower part of that River, which a little above *Buenos Ayres* changes its name into that of *Rio de la Plata*, or the Silver River. This name was probably given it by the first *Spaniards* that sailed up the River, on account of the silver dust they observed intermixt with the sand. Some Geographers pretend, that both silver and gold mines are to be found in the neighbourhood ; but they would find very great difficulties in proving what they advance. At least it is certain that *Paraguay* neither produces iron nor copper. As to the Gold and Silver Mines, we shall shew in another place, and more explicitly, what is to be thought on that head. \*

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\* *Vid.* the last chapter.

The *Paraguay* rises from the famous lake *Xarayes* or *Carayes*, under the sixteenth degree of South Latitude; and yet the climate is very temperate. The lands about the lake were formerly very populous; but are much less so since the *Mamelusses* laid the Country waste. The extent of this lake may be gathered from what follows: among many Islands placed in the midst of this lake, the single one of *Ore-jones* is 120 miles in length, and 30 in breadth. The *Paraguay* begins here, and in its course to the Southward receives on the right several large Rivers; the most considerable of which are, the *Pilcomaio*, *Vermeio*, and *Salado*; on the left it receives about the 27th degree of South latitude, the *Parana*, as large at least as the *Paraguay*. The name itself is a proof of the bigness: for in the *Indian* language *Parana* signifies the Sea. The *Uruguay*, another very large River, helps to swell the *Paraguay* towards the 34th degree of south latitude.

Most part of the countries here mentioned, present to the eye beautiful lawns watered with several smaller streams, delightful hills, and thick forests. If some fenny or unfruitful spot is found, such places are so scarce, as not to deserve any consideration.

If the *Indians* only understood making the most of their lands, perhaps none could shew a finer Country; but the greatest part are so lazy, as not even to think of tillage. They live

live on their fishing and hunting, and the fruits and roots that naturally grow in their Country.

Not to say any thing of the *Mayz*, or *Indian* wheat, of which the *Indians* subject to the *Spaniards*, usually make their Bread ; nor the *Manioc*, and *Yuca* roots ; of which *Cassava* is made, a sort of bread that keeps very well, and is useful in their journeys ; all sorts of grain and pulse the *Spaniards* have sown in *Paraguay*, come up and thrive very well. Very few vines are to be seen, which may be owing either to a defect in the soil, or the precautions of the *Missionaries*, who have hindered their being too common, to prevent the disorders, which commonly attend excess in wine. Instead of wine the *Indians* in their great entertainments, drink a sort of beer made only of water, wherein they ferment for two or three days a quantity of *Mayz* ground into meal, after the *Mayz* has been first malted and then dried by the fire. This liquor is intoxicating, and is called *Chica*, or *Ciccia*. The *Indians* know nothing more delicious. *Chica* is said to be better tasted than *Cyder*, lighter and wholesomer than our beer in *Europe*, and very strengthening as well as nourishing.

There is in *Paraguay*, but particularly in the Islands, a great number, and several kinds of birds, of which some are esteemed, as very nice eating ; others entertain the eye with the most agreeable variety of colours in their plumage. Among these are the *Parrots*, birds too well



well known in *Europe*, to need enlarging on them ; but extremely inconvenient to the *Indians*, whilst their *Mayz* is growing. The Parrots are extremely fond of this grain, and make a great havoc, where it is sowed.

The most singular bird in these parts, is that, which on account of its smallness, is called the *Bee*, or *Humming-bird*. With the brightest feathers he has the song and note of a *Nightingale* ; and one is extremely surprized to hear a little bird master of so strong a voice.

To pretend to a description of all the different products in *Paraguay*, would be too wide a digression from the main subject. Besides the Missionaries have not given us all the insight we could wish on this head. Let us therefore confine ourselves to what is most extraordinary, and give an idea of it in a few Words.

*Paraguay* produces all the kinds of trees that we are acquainted with in *Europe*, whether planted there originally by the Creator, or by the *Spaniards*. In some places the famous *Brazil* tree is found, tho' it is much more common in the extended and charming territory, which gives it that name. The shrubs that bear *Cotton* are to be seen in almost all parts, and is a principal article in the revenue of the country. The *Sugar-Cane* grows of itself in moist grounds ; but the *Indians* are altogether strangers to the use of it.

The valuable tree, from which the liquor called *Dragon's-Blood* is extracted, and of which

so many fables are related, is seldom found elsewhere. It is brought inspissated into *Europe*, and sold very dear. There grows on the banks of the *Paraguay* a sort of *Bamboo's* large and strong enough to make a pretty long ladder.

In a word, it is not uncommon to meet *Wild Cinnamon* in the woods, which is sometimes sold in *Europe* for that of *Ceilon*. Another bark, whose name I know not, is esteemed very stomachic, and being properly taken, instantly asswages, as they say, all kind of pain.

*Paraguay* produces also some singular fruits, with which it may be proper to acquaint the Readers. Among these, one resembles a bunch of grapes; but the grape consists of grains as small as pepper-corns. This fruit is called *Mbegue*, and is in taste and smell very agreeable: each grape has but one pip, or stone, as small as a millet-feed, and hotter than pepper when broken in the mouth. This fruit is usually served at table by way of desert; and according to the greater or lesser quantity one eats, it gives a gentle and easy evacuation some hours after.

The *Pigna*, another fruit, is somewhat like the *Pine-Apple*, and the tree is called the *Pine*; however it is more like an *Artichoke*, and its yellow pulp or substance, which is not unlike the *Quince*, is far superior to it in flavour and taste.

Another plant of *Paraguay* is known by the name of *Mburusugia*, and much celebrated; it

has first a very beautiful flower, called the *Passion-flower*, and turns afterwards into a sort of gourd, of the size of a common egg. When it is ripe they suck it, and it yields a most delicious juice, of the consistency of the yolk of a new-laid egg properly boiled, which is very refreshing and cordial.

The *Pacoe*, another plant, bears long thick pods of various colours, which inclose a sort of well tasted bean. There are some *Ananas*, but in no great quantity.

Before we conclude this article, it will not be improper to add something of the celebrated herb of *Paraguay*, which is used in *Peru*, as tea is in *China* and *Europe*. The *Herb of Paraguay* strictly is the leaf of a tree or shrub, which at first was only found in the mountains of *Maracaya*, 600 miles off from any christian settlements. When these were first formed, some plants or sets were brought from *Maracaya*, and put into fresh ground cleared for tillage. Though these come very well, yet the leaves of the wild original shrubs are in most request. The *Indians* bring yearly a certain quantity of this herb to the *Spanish* settlements, where they exchange it for such commodities and provisions as they want. This traffic has given birth to numberless calumnies, as will be seen hereafter.

I pass over in silence the serpents, lions, tigers, bears, that are bred in *Paraguay*, especially in the forests bordering on the sea; as



there will be frequent occasion of mentioning these animals elsewhere. It suffices to observe here, that these different animals seldom hurt any but those who attack them; ants and monkeys being far more hurtful: for the former, which swarm in *Paraguay* more than any where, nibble tender plants and hinder their growth; and the others lay waste the fields, strip the trees of their fruit, and destroy the crops. There are some not inferior in size to men. Some nations among the *Indians* make an advantage of those troublesome neighbours: for they kill and eat them not only without repugnance, but with pleasure.

The *Paraguayans* are said to have an excellent remedy against the bite of a serpent, in an herb called for this reason *viper-wort*; whose virtue is such, that if it be bruised green and applied to the wound, it works a speedy cure. Water in which this herb, green or dried, has been infused, is not less efficacious.

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### C H A P. III.

#### *The Genius and Manners of the uncivilized Indians.*

**I** Said that the *Spaniards* built Towns, and settled Colonies, in the Provinces which they possess in *South America*; but it is not to be concluded from this, that the King of *Spain* is

is master of all these Countries. These Towns are at a great distance from each other, and between them there are *Indian* nations in constant enmity with the christians ; or if not at war, in the greatest dread of having the christians for their masters. The Catholic King has no *Indian* subjects but such as have embraced Christianity: some of which are on the footing of slaves, and the others pay only a tribute ; the last are the chief subject of this work.

But before I begin, the manners of the uncivilized *Indians* that are at liberty should be described. This is necessary to understand what they formerly were, who now live under the laws of christianity, and what amazing change the grace of God has wrought in them.

The savages know neither King, nor Lord ; and if any kind of commonwealth be found among them, as it has no settled form, so there are no known laws, nor any fixed rule for the civil government, or the administration of justice. Every family, and even every savage thinks himself entirely free, and lives absolutely independent. But as the intestine feuds, and frequent wars they are engaged in with their neighbours, continually endanger their liberty, necessity has taught them to form a sort of society, and to chuse a Chieftain, who is called *Cacique*, that is, Captain, or Commander. By this choice they don't intend to submit to a master ; they rather look upon him as a parent, or director, under whose conduct they put them-

themselves. No one is raised to this dignity who has not given signal proofs of his valour; and the greater the reputation of his exploits is, the number of his Subjects increases the more. It happens sometimes that a Cacique shall be at the head of a hundred families.

The relations of some ancient Missionaries give an account, that among the *Caciques*, there are some magicians, who make their authority respected by the charms they employ against those, who have incurred their displeasure; were they to punish them by a regular course of justice, they would be soon forsaken. These impostors make the people believe, that they have storms and tygers at their command, to devour them and destroy them who should refuse to obey their orders. They are so much the easier believed, as it is not uncommon to see some, that the *Cacique* has threatened, linger away and die, very likely by some poison that they have found secret means to give them. The Missionaries add, that to be raised to the dignity of a *Cacique*, a post in great request, the Candidates have recourse to some celebrated magician. After he has rubbed them stoutly with the grease of several different animals, and harrassed them with painful and laborious exercises, he gives them a sight of the Devil, who converses a while with them, and promises them his protection.

These small Republics, or bodies of people, disperse as easily as they meet together. As  
every



every individual is his own master, he leaves his *Cacique* on any discontent, and goes over to another. What the *Indians* leave behind them in a place is so little, that the loss is very soon repaired. Their dwellings are wretched huts raised in the woods, and made of boughs of trees, or *Bamboos* put together without order, whose entrance is usually so narrow and low, that they must creep to go in. When the Savages are asked the reason for so odd a contrivance, their answer is, that they cannot otherwise be well guarded against flies, gnats, and insects, wherewith the air swarms in the rainy seasons, or be sheltered from the darts and arrows, which their enemies would not fail to send amongst them through the entrance of their hut, were it higher and larger. Re-building such houses costs very little; a little earthen ware makes up the whole of their moveables.

Many of their nations neither till nor sow their land, as they are little concerned for what is to come; and their voraciousness makes them devour greedily what they have to eat, without any care for the next day.

They live, as has been said, on their hunting and fishing, wild-fruits, and honey which is found in the woods, or roots that grow in the ground. The woods are so stocked with deer, and wild-boars, that the *Indians* can, in a few hours, bring in a fresh supply of provisions; and the lakes abound equally with large fish.

However to be surer of plenty, the *Indians* often change their quarters: and the same reason hinders greater numbers assembling in one place, and is one of the greatest obstacles to their conversion.

However most of the *Indians* sow and raise *Mayz*, and *Manioc*, of which they make a kind of pottage, bread, and *Chica*, their favourite liquor. This takes up their whole morning; and the remainder of the day they spend in sports, and diversion, unless necessity drives them out a hunting. Instead of ploughs to turn up the ground, they use stakes of a wood so hard as to supply the room of iron, which is absolutely wanting in all that Country.

The *Indians* are generally very tall, nimble, and active; and in their features they resemble much the *Europeans*, but are easily known by their tawny complexion. They encourage the growth of their hair, inasmuch as they fancy that beauty in great measure consists in a long head of hair; tho' really nothing disfigures them more. Few of them wear any cloaths. They hang round their necks a collar set with stones that might be taken for *emeralds*, or unpolished *rubies*. Some have little diminutive stones fixed in the chin, which amongst them is esteemed very magnificent. On days of ceremony they put on a girdle made with feathers of several colours, which look well enough; and on their heads they wear a plume composed

composed of like feathers. The women almost every where wear a kind of shift, called *Tipoy*, with short sleeves. Some that are more exposed to, or sensible of, the cold, cloath themselves with hides of beasts, the hair inward in winter, and outward in summer.

Activity and valour are almost the only qualities in esteem with the Savages, and of which they chiefly boast. They are taught early the use of the bow, and other weapons, to which those nations are accustomed; and they become so expert in these exercises, that they seldom miss a mark, even when they shoot flying. The clubs they use in battle are made of a hard ponderous wood; they have a double edge, are thick in the middle, and end in a sharp point. Besides these offensive weapons, some wear, when they go to war, a large buckler made of bark, to guard against the enemies darts and arrows.

The *Indians* are so vindictive, that the least provocation, or discontent, is enough to kindle up a war betwixt two of their Townships. It is not uncommon to take up arms, and quarrel with a neighbouring nation, for a bit of iron, which they value more then we do silver or gold. Sometimes they take the field out of mere fancy, and to encrease their reputation of bravery.

Perhaps *Europeans* accustomed to take up arms one nation against another, may not observe all the barbarity of these proceedings.

What



What must raise the greatest horror is to find that the *Indians* feed on their own species; and that in war they strive to make as many Prisoners as they can, in order to feast afterwards on the mangled limbs of the unfortunate captives; and that, in times of peace, *Indians*, who live in Society together, mutually hunt, pursue, and lay snares for one another, to satisfy their inhuman appetite. Barbarity and cruelty, sure, cannot be carried higher; but it must be owned, that many *Indians* in the midst of infidelity have a horror of so unnatural a custom: for there are some of a humane, and pacific disposition, who live in peace at home; or if they engage in war against their neighbours, it is only, when they are compelled to it by necessity. These are the most formidable in battle; but they lay aside all animosity after they have overcome their enemies. Very far from devouring their prisoners, they employ all methods of winning and engaging them to fix and settle with the victorious.

The *Indians* are used, and the custom is pretty common among them, to eat their meat half raw, which denotes a great strength of stomach, and perhaps much more an impatient and ravenous appetite.

This causes several diseases, to which they are subject. The most dangerous is the small-pox, which is as destructive there, as the plague brought from the *Levant* is sometimes  
in

in *Italy*. As soon as they find a person seized with this disorder, which is generally mortal in *Paraguay*, they quit the place, and retire in haste to the woods, leaving three or four days provisions with the sick body. From time to time they bring a fresh supply, till the person dies or recovers. This is the method of the Savages in these occasions; but the behaviour of the christian *Indians* is widely different: for their charitable care reaches even to their infidel neighbours under this disorder. But it is impossible to give an idea, that can represent at once the manners of so many different nations: for customs and usages one may easily conceive, must vary infinitely. 'Tis enough to lay before the reader, the customs most generally established among the *Indians*. There is still a greater variety in their language than manners: for they are confined to a small number of people, and to as little an extent of territory; being as numerous as their several small nations: and this is another great obstacle to the propagation of the gospel.

It may be said in general, that there are two sorts of people in this country; one compleatly savage, and the other, tho' in the center of barbarity, whether by nature or education, possessed of most amiable qualities. By not observing this difference, Historians have disagreed very much about the nature of the *Indians*, and represented them in very different lights.

Some-

Sometimes they are described as a coarse rough set of men, as narrow in their views, as they are inconstant in their resolutions; ready to embrace christianity to day, and to return the next to their brutish habits in the woods. Then we are told, that they are men of spirit and mettle, that undergo labours with wonderful patience, have much wit and understanding, and are very tractable with regard to those, who have authority over them; and in a word, very careful in all things to follow the dictates of true reason.

This is the idea given by the above cited *Bartholomew de las Casas*, Bishop of *Chiapa*, of the *Indians* of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and several *American* Islands, when the *Spaniards* first arrived among them. But it must be remarked, that these *Indians* were civilized; they had a King and a splendid court, which was not to be seen in any other part of *America*; without doubt the habit of obeying their Prince had humanized them.

It would be wrong to form a judgment by these *Indians* of the rest. Good or evil customs in every district are transmitted from father to son; and the good or bad education that is received prevails over the private character of particulars.

No wonder that among nations as savage and wild, as those are generally that inhabit the *Paraguay*, and who do not find interiorly any check from a notion of divine or human laws,



laws, so little humanity is to be found ; that youth so ill educated, and corrupted by bad example, should deliver themselves up to dissoluteness, and excesses ; or that habituated to fishing and hunting, laborious exercises, tho' not without pleasure, they should neglect tillage and husbandry ; in fine that drunkenness should be a common vice among them. They are sure to exceed when they have *Chica* at discretion ; and particularly when they are presented by *Europeans* with some bottles of wine and spirits.

The rainy season is their time for mirth. Their feasts and dances hold out usually two or three days and nights, of which the greatest part is spent in drinking ; and frequently the fumes of *Chica* getting into their heads, disputes, quarrels, and murders succeed to their diversions and pleasures.

The *Caciques* are allowed a plurality of wives, the rest can have but one ; but if they dislike her, they can turn her off, and take another. A father never gives his daughter in marriage, unless the suitor gives proofs of his dexterity and valour. On these occasions the lover sets out a hunting, kills all the game he can, and brings and lays it at the entrance of the hovel, where the young person lives that he courts, and then retires without saying a word. By the quality and quantity of the game, the Parents judge whether he is a man of spirit, and deserving of their daughter.

Numbers

Numbers of *Indians* have no bed but the ground, or some rough boards upon which they spread a mat, and the hides of some beasts they have slaughtered. They are very happy when they can purchase a hammock, which is a kind of net they hang up, and fasten to four posts; they use it in their journies, and when night comes on, they fasten it to the trees, and there take their rest.

Towards sunset the Savages make their last meal, and immediately after go to bed. But the young people that are not married usually pitch upon that time for their assemblies, and dance together for two or three hours, to a sort of flute or flageolet: the girls in dancing form a large ring round the men.

The *Americans* who raise *Indian* corn, at the close of harvest, divide into several bands, and go on their hunt into the woods. To preserve what they kill, they drie it by the fire, to a degree that it becomes as hard as wood.

In the month of *August* they return home, to sow their fields. The almost continual rains from *December* to *May*, keep them much at home, insomuch that they have no intercourse with the neighbouring nations. The rivers overflow, and form lakes, which are soon full of fish; when the floods are quite fallen, they take again to husbandry till harvest.

## C H A P. IV.

*The Religion of the wild South-Americans.*

**T**HOUGH few people in the world carry ignorance so far, as to own no superior Being worthy of their homage, yet it is certain beyond all doubt, that several nations in *Paraguay* pay no external worship whatever, either to God or Devil. They are notwithstanding persuaded of the existence of the latter, and have a great dread of him. They also believe that the soul dies not with the body; which is evident from the care they take in their burials to place provisions near the dead bodies; a bow and arrows, that they may provide for subsistence in the other world, and not be obliged by want to return to this, and to molest the living. This principle, universally received among the *Indians*, is of great service towards bringing them to the knowledge of God. As to any thing more, the greatest part have no thought, what becomes of the soul after death.

They give the name of mother to the moon, and honour her as such. When the moon is eclipsed, they run in haste out of their huts with lamentable shrieks and howlings, and shoot a great many arrows into the air to defend her, they say, from dogs that are fallen on her, and tear her to pieces. This they  
take



take to be the cause and origin of eclipses. They continue shooting their arrows till the moon has recovered her usual brightness. It is well known, that several, tho' civilized, nations in *Asia*, entertain nearly the same notions of the Lunary Eclipses, as the Savages in *America*.

When it thunders, the *Americans* imagine the storm is raised by some of their deceased enemies to revenge the shame of their defeat. All the *Indians* are very superstitious in their enquiries after what is to happen; and for this purpose they often observe the singing of birds, the changes that happen to trees, and the cries of some animals. These are their oracles, and they believe that they can receive from them a certain knowledge of the accidents wherewith they are threatened.

Nevertheless some *Indians* adore the devil and Idols, as the people called *Manacicas*. Their priests are called *Mapono*. The *Manacicas* are spread among many villages, tolerably populous; whose ways are quite different from the other *Indians*. Their houses all of timber, have an appearance of symmetry and neatness, not to be met with elsewhere; and form large streets, and sizeable squares, one of which is larger than the rest, where the chief *Cacique* resides; and a spacious hall besides, where the people assemble to worship their Gods, and for all public ceremonies. The other houses of the town have several rooms. The only tool they  
use

use in building, is a kind of hatchet made of a hard stone, with a strong edge, to cut and shape the largest pieces of timber. The women are chiefly employed in manufacturing cloaths, and making very nice and curious earthen ware, in which they are very skilful.

As the towns of the *Manacicas* lie not far asunder, frequent visits, and grand entertainments are very common, which conclude with a general dance.

The *Manacicas* are the only nation where the chief *Cacique* has sovereign authority. His lands are tilled, and his buildings are raised at the public charge. His table is constantly provided with the best the country affords, and without any expence of his. No one dares to take in hand any thing of moment without his approbation. The *Cacique* punishes offenders severely, and orders with impunity and arbitrarily, what punishments he pleases for those he dislikes. The Women are subject in the same manner to the principal wife of the *Cacique*. All the inhabitants pay the tenth of their hunting and fishing to him, and are not allowed either without his leave. His power is not only absolute, but hereditary. As soon as the *Cacique's* eldest son is of age to govern, the father resigns his command to him, and the investiture is performed with great pomp and solemnity. This voluntary resignation always increases the respect and love of the people for their old master.

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As

As absurd as the Religion of the *Manacicas* appears, some traces of the true are discovered in the number of fables it contains, and of which it is full. For they believe according to tradition from their ancestors, that a lady of exquisite beauty conceived formerly without any operation of man; that she brought forth a most charming child; that this child having attained a certain age, filled the world with admiration of his virtues and prodigies; that one day in the presence of a numerous crowd of disciples his followers, he ascended into the air, and instantly transformed himself into this sun, which shines upon us. They add, that were it not for the vast distance, his features would still be visible.

Yet the *Manacicas* do not adore the sun. They hold three gods, and one goddess, who, according to them, is the spouse of the first, and mother of the second, whom they call *Urasana*, and the goddess *Quipoci*. These gods now and then appear, say they, under frightful figures, to the people assembled in the hall of the *Cacique* to carouse and dance according to custom; a loud noise announces their coming. The moment they appear, the people interrupt their diversions, and break out into acclamations of joy. Then the gods begin to speak, and encourage the people in the most courteous manner, to eat and drink heartily. They promise them plenty of fish and game, and all other good things; after that, to honour the  
feast



feast, they call for drink, and swallow down surprizingly and readily the bowls that are presented to them. To understand right the whole mystery of these apparitions, it suffices to know, that a great part of the hall lies behind a curtain; this is, as it were, the sanctuary of the pretended deities. No one is admitted, nor even allowed to look within except the principal *Mapono*, who knows how, and when it is most proper to introduce his actors on the stage. They are no doubt some confidents of his, under the disguise of figures and dresses suitable to the farce.

Sometimes the *Mapono* from behind the curtain, puts questions to the gods, concerning future events; and offers the vows and prayers of the people. After a few moments silence, he comes out of the sanctuary, and reports to the people the most favourable answers from the gods. These oracles are often so ridiculous, that those who hear them, cannot hold from laughing. Once an *Indian* took it into his head to cry out in the assembly, that the gods had drunk heartily, and that the *Cbica* had made them merry; upon which the *Mapono* changed his flattering promises into imprecations, and threatened the people with storms, thunder, famine, and death.

Sometimes the *Indians* suffer themselves to be persuaded, that the *Mapono* has taken his flight up to heaven, whence he soon comes back in company with the goddess *Quipoci*. She

sings behind the curtain some songs with an agreeable voice, and the people from the moment they hear her, shew all the marks of the most sensible joy, and demonstrate, in the most expressive terms, their respect and love for the deity. She answers in the kindest manner possible, calling the *Indians* her children, and telling them that she is a true mother, and that she only protects them from the wrath of the gods, and their cruelty. And indeed the *Indians* invoke her in their wants, and when they suffer under any calamity.

It happens not very seldom, that the *Mapono* shall come with a commission from the gods, ordering the people to take up arms, and invade some neighbouring township. The impostor recommends the enterprise to the people, as a means to be very rich in a short time. Tho' the *Manacicas* repented more than once following the *Mapono's* advice, yet they seldom fail complying. But the *Indians* pay very dear for these deceitful oracles: for they are obliged to offer a large share to their gods, of their hunting and fishing, thro' the hands of the *Maponos*, who get a considerable revenue by the credulity of the poor people.

The *Manacicas* believe the immortality of the soul, and that, when it leaves the body, it is conducted to heaven by the *Mapono*, there to live eternally in joy and delight. On the death of an *Indian*, the *Mapono* disappears for some time, which he says is employed by him in conveying

conveying the soul of the diseased to the mansion of bliss. This journey must be very troublesome : for it lies thro' thick forests, high, craggy, and steep mountains, deep valleys full of vast lakes and pools, and over a very broad river, with a wooden bridge, guarded night and day by the god *Tatutiso*, This deity is not unlike the fabulous *Charon* of the Poets ; and moreover his business is to purify the souls from all stains contracted in their life past. If any fail in due respect, he throws them over to sink in the stream, At last they reach paradise ; a poor paradise it is, and the pleasures they find there not very engaging. Nothing to be had but a kind of gum, some honey, and fish, to feed the souls of the *Indians* with. The *Mapono* at his return, tells a thousand other silly stories of his journey, and takes care to be well paid for his trouble.

In some parts the *Maponos* also profess physic. To be entituled to this lucrative imploy, the doctor must have had frequent engagements with wild beasts, tygers especially ; and must shew by scars on his body, that he has been either bit, or scratched by some of these animals. After these severe trials, the *Maponos*, and in some places, the *Caciques*, have a right to heal the sick, and are called in preferably to the others. These physicians know only two methods of cure, both very extravagant, for all sorts of complaints.

The first method consists in examining the



patient, where he has been of late, whether he has let any *Chica* fall to the ground (a great crime with them) or whether he has thrown some bit of venison, tortoise, or other animal, to the dogs. If so, there needs no farther enquiry into the cause of the disorder; the gods punish in this manner the abuse of their blessings. Or else it is the soul of some animal, which resenting the ill usage it has met with, has got into the body of the patient. The Doctor sucks the place where the pain is felt; then he wheels about his patient, with violent strokes of his club laid on the ground, to drive away, as he pretends, the spiteful spirit, that torments him night and day. By this, one may well presume, the patient is not much better, and that nothing is to be depended on, but the strength of his constitution.

However the *Missionaries* inform us, that most of the sick die rather of hunger and want, than of the illness they suffer. They are allowed but a handful of *Indian* corn a day, and that mostly raw, which the sick often loath, and cannot eat. All the care of the family is for the knowing doctor, who sits by his patient, and eats very contentedly the best poultry and game laid before him.

The other way of cure is very cruel and barbarous. Some of these *Indians* are persuaded, that all their diseases are caused by the malice of women. In this case, let the patient, or physician pitch upon any woman as the fancied cause

cause of the distemper, it is a sufficient reason enough for the *Indians* to go and dispatch the unhappy creature. Tho' experience ought to have convinced them, that such recipes, or prescriptions are of no service, they still will believe that distempers proceed from external causes, and not from any internal alteration of the humours.

These ridiculous methods of cure are abolished where the *Missionaries* are settled. And it was not without great difficulty, that they undeceived the poor *Indians*, and discovered to them the ignorance and knavery of their pretended Physicians.

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C H A P. V.

*The principal obstacles to the Indians conversion, especially from the Europeans. The Mamelusses of Brazil.*

**I**T is easy to imagine how difficult it was to subject the *Indians*, such as they are represented here, to the laws of the gospel. But as barbarous as their manners could be, I dare venture to say, that this was not the greatest obstacle to their conversion. The *Europeans* themselves, more than any thing else, have been the main cause of the aversion the *Indians* have to Christianity, by their barbarous usage of these unfortunate people. The nature of this work

makes it necessary to give a short sketch of the past and present behaviour of the *Europeans* in *South-America*, and its pernicious consequences. 'Tis well known, that the *Spaniards*, whether necessitated to it by a chain of circumstances not in their power to avoid, or otherwise, did not establish their empire in *South-America*, but by force; and that they destroyed millions under various pretexts. If they spared any, they did it to make them slaves.

A great number of these miserable creatures were confined to the mines, where they were oppressed with labour and ill usage. This excess of cruelty raised among the *Indians*, that had escaped the yoke, a furious hatred of the *Spanish* nation, and which is so much the more sure to continue, as their tyranny holds on at least in part, notwithstanding the wise and rigorous ordinances of the catholic Kings, and the complaints of all the good *Spaniards*, who cease not to lament the excesses, so contrary to the maxims of the gospel, and humanity.

Now this has raised a great obstacle, and so difficult to get over, as to render the propagation of the christian faith almost impossible. From a hatred of the *Spaniards*, there follows naturally a hatred of their Religion. And indeed, how could they be ever persuaded, that the God, whom cruel and unjust men, and enemies of mankind adored, should be a merciful and good God, and that his law is most holy? This conduct of the *Spaniards* has not been less prejudicial to the con-



cerns of the state, than of Religion. When the *Spaniards* intended to stretch beyond the high mountains of *Peru* and *Chili*, to the inland parts of the continent, they were forced to use violence; but often fell very short of the expected success. For the *Indians* not only made stout efforts to preserve, or recover, their liberty; but in their turns became aggressors, and penetrated more than once into the *Spanish* towns and cities, which they destroyed with fire and sword, and by all the means that hatred and fury could suggest.

The *Muscovites* in the year 1590, and under the reign of the *Czar Fedor Ivanovitz*, conquered *Siberia*, an immense tract of land, and which has no bounds, but the *Chinese-Tartary*. We have a faithful relation of that glorious expedition, that pacific conquest, if I may use the expression. The *Muscovites* engaged the *Siberians* so much with presents and demonstrations of kindness, that they all voluntarily submitted to the Emperor of *Russia*. Towns, forts, and churches, were built without opposition, and now flourish more than ever; and if the *Russians* had been more zealous in endeavouring to convert the *Siberians*, perhaps there would not have remained the least trace of Idolatry. "Would to God", says the author of the relation, "that the *Spaniards* had treated the *Indians* in the same gentle manner. They would have civilized the fierce minds of those barbarians, and made them their friends. After this it would  
" have

“ have been easy to carry on their conquests,  
“ as far as they would. This I am fully con-  
“ vinced of, by a voyage I made to *America*.  
“ But by taking a quite contrary method, and  
“ incurring the universal odium and execration  
“ of the *Indians*, they can get no subjects but  
“ by force; a means that seldom succeeds.  
“ The *Muscovites* can say it with truth, and ex-  
“ perience has taught them, that to establish  
“ new Empires, and civilize savage people,  
“ they must be treated with humanity”.

Great numbers of *Spaniards* are absolutely destitute of this virtue, who sail to the *Indies* merely to get riches. They are in this world, one would think, only to command. They are above all work. In many parts even of *Spain*, the lands are tilled wholly by slaves, or strangers. This humour goes yet farther in the *Indies*. A *Spaniard* would rather die for hunger and want, than hold the plough. What has been the consequences of this out-of-the-way pride? In the immense countries that are comprehended under the general name of *Paraguay*, there are hardly to be found a dozen cities, with some village-towns raised by the *Spaniards*; and neither the one or the other very populous. Some scattered hutts are to be seen here and there in the parts adjacent to the towns, for men to watch the corn, which makes up the bulk of their riches. There are besides at small distances, little townships of *Indians* subject to the *Spaniards*,

niards. The rest of the Country is either deserted, or possessed by independant *Indians*.

The Kings of *Spain* were no sooner masters of this vast country and the richest in the world, but they imagined they had a ready means to recompense the officers, who had signalized themselves in the wars. They gave them not only a great extent of lands, but also the old inhabitants the *Indians*, and those who had been brought thither from other parts. These lands were called *Commanderies*, as those to whom the lands were given, *Commanders*. They and their posterity were to enjoy them, as a reward of their labours, under certain conditions. This custom still subsists. After the death of the *Commander*, in default of issue, the *Commandery* reverts to the crown; and the royal treasury receives the rents for some years. The term being elapsed, the Governor of the Province may dispose of the *Commandery* in favour of any other family, that has served the state faithfully; so that all, in proportion to their deserts, may hope, some time or other, to succeed to a share in the King's benefactions.

Every *Indian* must pay five *Piasters* \* yearly to their *Commander*; who strictly speaking, has no right to exact any more; and the fifth part (one *piaster*) is due to the Curate of the *Commandery*,

\* A *Piafter*. or piece of eight, is about four shillings and sixpence English money



*mandery*, and is the whole income of his Curacy. The remainder is for the *Commander*, but with an obligation to assist the *Indians* in their wants, and to watch for their safety. 'Tho' this may seem a heavy tax, yet it is a very easy one with respect to what many subjects of *Europe* pay to their Princes; and these regulations are conformable to the laws of prudence and equity.

Hence the misfortune of the *Indians* is wholly due to the almost general neglect of the wise ordinances made in their favour by the Kings of *Spain*. They are not content with what the laws allow; but the *Indians* are oppressed with a thousand other heavy impositions, that reduce these poor creatures to extreme misery. Many officers are appointed, to see the King's orders duly executed. There are also magistrates called *Protectors*, whose only business is to attend the *Indians* in the courts of justice; and without this formality, all acts of these courts are void. But altho' Bishops, Governors, and principal officers, are commonly men of probity and equity, 'tis impossible that of so many subaltern officers there should not be some, that a sordid and base interest will induce to commit crying injustices: and the evil will scarce admit of a remedy, at this great distance from the court and the presence of the Sovereign. Let the ministers be never so well disposed, they are under a necessity of leaving the case to the judgment of the very authors of these evils;  
who

who transmit what accounts they please, and assure the ministry, that nothing is done, but what is agreeable to his majesty's intentions.

The way that is usually taken to grow rich in a short time, is to make the *Indians* work without respite, or moderation. The unhappy creatures are a thousand times worse off, than even the *Negroes*; and the reason is obvious. The *Blacks* are the property of the masters; whereas the *Indians* are, as it were, only lent by the King; and if they fail, the loss is the King's. Thus the *Commanders*, who soon become Gentlemen, if they were not such at their arrival in *America*, make all the advantage they can of the *Indians* in their *Commanderies*. No care is taken for them, or their families. They are oppressed with labour. They sink under the weight of burthens that are above their strength; or else run away in despair, and take to remote forests for refuge among the independent *Indians*, whom they fail not to inspire with the greatest hatred for the name of a *Spaniard*, and of a christian. Some after their escape, go to the high-ways, and lie in wait to murder the passengers. They engage the Savages, to carry desolation to the very gates of the *Spanish* Towns, with impunity from the *Spaniards*, who dare not punish them for fear of farther exasperating the *Indians*.

It appears in an excellent memorial, sent in 1735, by Father *d'Aguilar* to the court of *Spain*,  
and

and of which I shall give a more ample account at the close of this work, “ that some  
 “ *Indian* nations ravaged the Province of *Tu-*  
 “ *cuman*, at that time that they had seized all  
 “ the roads, that there was no going by land  
 “ to *Peru*, without extreme danger; that they  
 “ daily committed infinite murders and rob-  
 “ beries; that many christians were led off  
 “ captives by the Savages; and that the *Spanish*  
 “ Towns were in a manner blocked up”.  
 This Father adds, “ that the *Indians* had mas-  
 “ saced *Spaniards* in the broad day, and even  
 “ at the gates of their cities; some of which  
 “ were so distressed, that the inhabitants durst  
 “ not go out at night, no not so much as out  
 “ of their own houses, without danger of fal-  
 “ ling into the enemies hands.” Such are the  
 fruits of oppression, pride, and covetousness.

But tho’ the bad conduct of the *Spaniards* should not be attended with pernicious consequences; it must of necessity have another effect of very great prejudice to the crown of *Spain*. The best peopled Colonies are soon reduced. The *Indian* families are destroyed by degrees; and the number of inhabitants, the main support of a state, and without which the most extended and fruitful Country, and even all the treasures of the world, signify nothing, decreases daily in a very sensible manner.

The *Indians*, if you will, are baptised; but without any advantage to either soul or body.



They are incessantly taken up with hard work in places at a great distance from any Church; they can neither go to Mass, nor partake of the Sacraments, nor hear any instructions from their Curates; nay, they scarce have any knowledge of their Curates. This is also the case of all the labouring people; as *Negroes*, those that are born of *European* and *Indian* parents, and *Mulattoes*, who live in village townships or places very distant from towns.

Every year indeed the *Jesuits* run over these Provinces with unspeakable zeal and charity. They go from Colony to Colony, performing the missions in each, administering the Sacraments, and distributing the word of God, without fear of the fatigues, or dangers, that are unavoidable in these long excursions. They comfort the *Indians*, distribute the charities, which they have taken care to collect before; these they accompany with small presents, and equally proper to gain their hearts, and keep up the devotion of these poor people. In fine, these fervent Missionaries endeavour all they can to alleviate the hardships of their slavery.

But the apostolic labourers are too few for so vast a harvest. The *Jesuits* have but eight or ten Colleges in these immense territories. Some of these Colleges have but six priests, and those sufficiently employed among the *Spanish* inhabitants of the towns. Even the College of *Cordova*

*dova* in the *Tucuman*, the most numerous and flourishing, where they have their noviceship and university together, has not a sufficient number of subjects, if the wants of the Country are considered. For the number of different plantations and townships in the district of that city amounts to 670, and these are dispersed at a great distance in the inland parts.

The scandalous life most Christians lead in *America*, obstructs the Conversion of the *Indians* as much as their merciless barbarity. I need not repeat what prejudiced or misinformed Travellers say on this head. I shall confine myself to what is attested by persons of known worth, in Books printed at *Madrid*, without any objection ever made to the truth of their accounts. The *Spanish* nation has always been justly commended for that edifying piety and religion which it professes. But those who go over to *America* are not commonly the most zealous. The desire of being Saints is not their motive to undertake the voyage. And so, tho' there are in the *Indies*, especially among the *Spaniards* of the best rank, persons of a very regular conduct, the most part are corrupt in their morals by interest, luxury, and an immoderate love of pleasures and conveniences of life. To judge by outward appearances, one would be persuaded that God is well served. But this is all a specious outside. Ignorance, injustice, pride, an insatiable thirst of gold, take in their hearts the

the place due to religion. The infidels come in time of peace to the *Spanish* towns to traffic. The counterfeit piety of the inhabitants does not deceive them long. They are immediately struck with the barbarous usage of their brother *Indians*. They soon perceive that the *Spaniards*, even those who are bound to give better example, because they preach up virtue to others, shame, by their conduct, the religion they profess.

When the *Jesuit* Missionaries, who are owned even by Sectaries to lead irreproachable lives even in *America*, endeavour to insinuate the holy maxims of religion into the hearts of these *Indians* they will scarce give them the hearing. If they succeed so far, as to bring over a few Infidels to *Jesus Christ*, the conversions are commonly of no long continuance, on account of the sad impressions, which the scandalous behaviour of the *Spaniards* makes on the new converts. When the Savages are told, that our religion does not allow polygamy; that it teaches humility, self-denial, and charity, they retort the manners of the *Spaniards* against all that has been said, and accompany their answers with a disdainful smile, and which is sufficient to defeat the warmest zeal.

At last experience has too sensibly convinced the Missionaries, that it is next to impossible to convert the *Indians*, who have opportunities of being acquainted with the *Spaniards* way of life; and that they must seek out other nations, which by their situation had no intercourse

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with



with *Europeans*. How the enterprize succeeded we shall see very soon.

But first I am to give an account of a particular calamity, which oppressed the *Indians* grievously and for a long time. And now it is also proper to shew my reader what the *Mamelusses* of *Brazil* are, the robbers I have already mentioned. These lights will be of great service to understand other things that follow in this work.

Some *Spanish* merchants that were settled on the other side of the mountains of *Peru*, and especially those of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, had entered into a kind of an association to make slaves of the *Indians*, and after that to bring them to market. They came with armed force into the lands of the *Indians*, and ran thro' an extent of Country of some ninety, or one hundred and twenty miles, or more, pursuing the Savages much in the same manner, as hunters follow their game. If the booty made in the enemies quarters did not answer their expectation, they fell unawares on the neighbouring *Indian* townships with whom they were at peace, and without mercy put all to the sword, who pretended to resist, or burnt them alive in their huts. The rest were led off captives. Some injury or other was always pretended, to give a colour of justice to these atrocious attempts. These merchants when returned home sold their slaves very cheap to others, who drove crouds of these ill-fated creatures

creatures bound and fettered to *Peru*, where they sold them to considerable advantage. The profit of the parties concerned amounted yearly to several thousand Piafters.

Mean while the true *Spaniards* could not see without horror and indignation fo many nations unjustly oppreffed, and facrificed to the infatiable avarice of the inhabitants of *Santa Cruz*. But they dreaded men, who were in great credit by their riches, and no one had courage to oppofe this torrent of iniquity. The evil was inveterate, and proof againft feveral rigorous Edicts of the Kings of *Spain*.

Father *Joseph de Arce*, a Jefuit, full of zeal for the falvation of fouls, appeared in 1690 before the Governor of the *Indies*, and petitioned for leave to preach the Gospel in the Country of the *Chiquitos*. The merchants of *Santa Cruz* ufed all endeavours to prevent the fuccefs of the Miffionary's propofal; they made no doubt that their trade muft fall, if he were allowed to go on with his enterprife. All their efforts were without effect. The undaunted fervant of God, whom neither fear, nor any human confideration could refrain, where the honour of God was concerned, in defiance to all oppofition began his apoftolic labours and excursions, which were afterwards bleffed with wonderful fuccefs. Nevertheless the wretches went on plundering and carrying off *Indians*, till the Miffionaries, who could not bear any longer being difturbed in their functions, nor

the inhuman treatment of their Neophytes, and the cutting off thus all hopes of bringing over the other *Indians* to the fold of Jesus Christ, took the resolution of making their complaints to the royal audience, or tribunal, of *Cbiuquisaca*, and begged most earnestly that a stop might be put to these violent abuses.

The merchants of *Santa Cruz* were supported and protected by a person of power in the Country; and the magistrates not daring to determine any thing in regard to the petition laid before them, referred the cause to the Viceroy of *Peru*. This was the Prince of *Santo Bueno*, a *Neapolitan*, and a man of great religion and piety. And this I can assure with so much the greater confidence, as I was very particularly acquainted with him at *Bologna*. He took instantly the most effectual and speedy measures to redress these flagrant disorders. The Prince issued a most rigorous ordinance, whereby every one was forbid under the penalty of banishment, confiscation of goods and chattles, to sell, or purchase *Indians*, or make any attempt whatever on their liberty. As to Governors who should tolerate so criminal an abuse, he condemned them to be deprived of their posts, and to a fine of 12000 *Piasters*. These exact orders put an end to their iniquitous traffic; the *Indians* were molested no more; and it is to be believed, that they feel to this day the good effects of so wise a regulation,



gulation, and so agreeable to the laws of nature.

But whatever the *Indians* suffered from the *Spaniards*, these unhappy nations have suffered still more from the *Mamelusses* of *Brazil*. And, here we shall give in a few words the history of this other set of robbers.

Beyond the *Rio Janeiro*, and towards the Cape of *St. Vincent*, where *Brazil* is terminated, the *Portuguese* built on a very steep rock the town of *St Paul* by some called *Piratiniga*. The climate is temperate. Inaccessible mountains and the thick forests of *Pernabacaba* surrounds, and is a fence to it on all sides. The territory is fruitful, and well cultivated; it produces plenty of all necessaries for life, as corn, *Indian* wheat, plenty of cattle, sugar, and several spices in sufficient quantity to supply the neighbouring Countries.

The inhabitants of this town, for want of *European* women married the natives of the Country. From this mixture of base with the noble blood of the *Portuguese*, sprung a race with all the defects of their mothers, and without any of their fathers virtues. They sunk into such disrepute, thro' the profligacy of their manners, that the neighbouring towns would have thought themselves utterly disgraced, had they kept up any correspondence with the inhabitants of *St. Paul*. Tho' they were originally *Portuguese*, they were deemed unworthy of bearing a name, which they dishonoured

honoured by their infamous actions. They were called *Mamelusses*, and the name continues to this day in *Brazil*; tho' they commonly go among Historians by the names of *Paulists*, *Paulitians*, *Paulopolitans*.

However for some years they remained true to God and their King; and this was chiefly owing to the labours of the renowned Father *Joseph Anchieta*, the apostle of *Brazil*, and other Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who had a College at St. *Paul's* founded by the town. But at length, whether they found too strong an opposition to their dissolute lives from these Fathers, or whether the Governors of *Brazil* had not a sufficient regard and consideration for them, they turned out the *Jesuits*, and threw off in a manner all subjection to *Portugal*. For they obey the Governors of *Brazil* no longer than they please; that is, as long as it serves their interest; insomuch, that a kind of Commonwealth is formed in the town, and is governed by its own particular laws.

St. *Paul*, which at first had not above 400 inhabitants, slaves, negroes, and *Indians*, included, now reckons many thousands within the walls. The refuse of all nations is indiscriminately admitted. 'Tis the asylum of all the *Portuguese*, *Spanish*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Italian* robbers, who have left *Europe* to escape the punishments due to their crimes; or such as desire to lead a licentious life with impunity.

A Black who runs away from his master is sure to be well received.

The *Mamelusses* declare openly, that they are independent. But yet they pay to the King of *Portugal* yearly a fifth of the Gold got out of their mountains, which are not without mines. But when they pay, they never forget to protest, this payment is neither made out of fear, or on account of any indispenfible obligation ; but out of respect and confideration for his majesty. The advantageous situation of *St. Paul*, and the fortifications added by the inhabitants, have made the *Portuguese* drop, not the desire, but all hopes of ever subduing this strong-hold. Besides the arms common to them and the *Indians*, the *Mamelusses* have plenty of fire arms, brought partly by fugitive Blacks, or which themselves have taken from passengers, on the high ways. It appears, that they have got the secret of making gun-powder.

They are also said to have priests and religious among them; but certainly very little religion remains: and if the *Mamelusses* still call themselves Christians, they shew very little respect to the laws of Christianity.

In effect, from the time the *Mamelusses* withdrew their obedience to the authority of the Vice-roy of *Brazil*, they took to pillage and plunder ; and in a manner that only became the most barbarous nations. It is well known that they made yearly excursions, into the lands  
of



of the *Indians*, and carried off an infinity of these poor souls into slavery, in order to put them to hard work in the mines, and sugar plantations. The lands in the neighbourhood of *St. Paul* were ever after tilled by the poor *Indian* captives only. The Provinces of *Guaira*, *Paraguay*, and *Rio de la Plata*, were the most exposed to the inroads of the *Mamelusses*, and were the places that suffered most. They destroyed entirely several populous townships of the *Indians*, and only spared those that paid them tribute. After they had depopulated their neighbouring Countries, they carried on desolation to the more remote. It would almost be thought incredible, were it not attested by all accounts, that the *Mamelusses* frequently penetrated as far as the vast lake of the *Xarayes*, and to the river *Maragnon*; that in the space of five or six months they have made courses of three thousand miles in length; and it is not easy to understand how they found means to subsist at this distance from home, under a necessity of traversing immense tracts, which they had already ravaged. It is however certain, that very few of the *Indian* populations, which were so numerous about that lake, escaped their fury and barbarity.

They have not spared even the *Spanish* cities and Colonies; but pillaged some, and carried off the inhabitants. They have destroyed fourteen christian reductions, or townships; and in the compass of 130 years have made  
above

above two millions of *Indians* slaves, and among these fifty thousand christians.

Among so many captives, scarce one in a hundred proved of any service. The greatest part perished with misery and hardship, before they reached *St Paul*; and those who came found and safe were soon taken off with the bad air in the mines, or excessive labour in the Sugar-works. An authentic record has been seen, whereby it is proved that of three hundred thousand *Indians* taken and brought home by the *Mamelusses*, there were scarce twenty thousand living at the end of five years.

The piety of the Kings of *Portugal* has been frequently and most earnestly solicited, and reiterated complaints have occasioned vigorous Edicts against the *Mamelusses*, who have given themselves no great trouble on that account, and whom those Edicts have not hindered ravaging the Country in the usual manner. Perhaps the Kings of *Portugal* have deferred too long the taking necessary measures, to destroy this asylum for all crimes.

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## C H A P. VI.

### *The Establishment of the Paraguayan Missions.*

I N the parts of *South America*, where Colleges were founded for the Society of Jesus, the father

fathers found an ample field for the exercise of their zeal, either in endeavouring to keep up and promote piety and devotion among the inhabitants of the Towns, or in performing missions among the country people, for the most part *Indians* employed in tillage by the *Spaniards*. From time to time they visited the Countries of the Infidels. The whole of their care was to baptise some dying infants, or to instruct some adults, who seemed best disposed for their instructions. But they rather passed thro' than made a stay in these savage Countries.

About the middle of the last century, those christian Heroes formed a bold plan, and resolved to settle in the midst of the savage *Indians*, that were farthest removed from the *Spanish* Towns, and plantations. Experience had taught them, that this was the only means to succeed, and to secure success among the *Indians*.

But the question was, how to introduce christianity among men dispersed like wild beasts, retired very far into the thickest forests, or lurking in dens, always at variance, never fixed in a place, continually in wars with each other, breathing nothing but revenge, and carrying barbarity to that excess, as to make their most delicious meals on the flesh of their fellow creatures.

To succeed in this project, the Missionaries judged, that it must be brought about by very  
near



near the same means, which in the earliest ages were of service to civilize the savage nations, that filled *Asia* and *Europe*, as the wild *Indians* do *America*. The first step taken by these ancient sages, was to bring the Barbarians into Society, and to convince them how much a civil life was to be preferred to the brutish life they had led hitherto, whether they considered their present maintenance, or their habitations, or even the wars so frequent among them. They artfully ingaged them to make a trial. The *Indians* grew more tractable, as they became more acquainted with a social life, and, as it were, by common consent, accustomed themselves to the practice of virtues suitable to rational beings.

*Cicero* \* commends very much the wisdom and abilities of that *great* man who first found means to bring together, and to assemble in one place, men formerly dispersed in fields, or shut up in caves among the rocks, and taught them to know and to value what is virtuous and profitable. The first lessons, adds the *Roman* orator, were frequently opposed by the outcries of the Barbarians, surprised and alarmed with the novelty. By degrees his discourse gained ground among them, and engaged their attention: and he brought fierce and cruel people to live in friendship and peace.

\* Lib. i. de *Rhet.*

*Horace* ascribing the same glory to the *Thracian* Bard, says; † *Orpheus* that sacred minister and interpreter of the gods, brought mankind out of forests. The charms of his eloquence prevailed, and forced them to give over murders and their former terrible manner of life. They became sociable, and this gave occasion to Poets to feign, that he could tame lions and tygers.

All these encomiums are justly due to the first Missionaries of *Paraguay*. And well they may have a share of praise with former Legislators, as they have followed their footsteps with equal success. The wild *Indians* were scarce to be looked upon as men, when the design was formed to make them christians. The advantages and the pleasures of a social life, and interest which has so great an influence on the minds of men, were in the beginning frequently represented to the Savages, who were not altogether insensible of what was proposed. Their former life, scarce different from that of brutes, was described to them in a natural manner. The inconveniences of this way of life were pointed out; the *Indians* laid hold of the truth, which they observed in these accounts of themselves, and were struck with the representation. When they were asked, whether they did not think it against reason and humanity, to hunt down their fellow-creatures

† *Art. Poet.*

merely from a desire of devouring them, they were at a loss what to reply. And they already began to look upon themselves with some horror.

At length after a competent number of *Indians* was brought together, they were taught to build houses with some appearance of neatness and symmetry. This cost very little: for these houses, or rather huts, were only made of rough wood and branches of trees put together with bamboos, mats, and stakes. This however was a great improvement, if compared to their former dwellings. But this infant Republic would have soon been destroyed, had not due care been taken to provide necessaries for their subsistence. With much difficulty they were convinced, that it was necessary to husband the ground. The Missionaries not only furnished the grain wanted to sow their lands, but found them all necessities for their maintenance till the harvest. The *Indians* continued hunting and fishing; they looked for honey and wild fruits in the woods. Before the year's end the good people grown more gentle and tractable, began to reap the fruits of their labour. The harvest was plentiful, and the success made them still eagerer to take pains.

This new people raised at the same time a church entirely made of wood, under the direction of the Missionaries, who omitted nothing that could serve to instruct them with  
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regard to religion. The success perfectly answered their expectation. They began with baptising the children ; in process of time they baptised the adult, when they found them sufficiently disposed. And soon after it was judged proper to say mass, and to administer the Sacraments in public. The Neophytes assisted at the mysteries with such fervour and attention, that the Missionaries could not forbear shedding tears of joy and tenderness.

This first Colony was scarce settled, when many others were formed on the same plan. These were called *Doctrines* or *Reductions*, a term which has continued ever since to signify this kind of establishments.

It is not to be said how much these early successes encouraged the Missionaries. To extend this new empire of Jesus Christ, they daily made farther progress into those immense tracts, in quest of the *Indians* dispersed among the plains, the mountains and forests. They endeavoured to gain by small presents the hearts of the *Indians* they met ; they laid before them in the strongest manner, the misfortune of a man that owns no God, or adored false deities ; they also represented the advantages of christian religion, and did their best to make them sensible of the truth of it. The Savages came to observe with their own eyes the happy situation of the *Reductions*. Nothing could be of greater power and efficacy for engaging them

them to join in the same manner, under the laws of the gospel, and to follow in all things the advice of the Missionaries, whom they looked upon as persons come from heaven. Thus several *Reductions* were formed successively, and the old ones were increased by numbers that came in crouds to be admitted into these new settlements.

The first settlements were made in the province of *Uraguay*; which in the opinion of the *Jesuits* seemed the most proper for the execution of their design. This province lying east of *Paraguay* is encompassed with a chain of mountains which incloses a vast and fruitful plain, watered from end to end by the river *Uraguay*, for the space of 690 miles. Some *Reductions* were soon after established in the province of *Guaira*, to the north east, with very fine plains, and as good air. The indefatigable Missionaries conducted the *Indians* that were willing to receive their instructions into these parts, as fittest for culture and tillage. And before it was long, they reckoned in the said provinces 30 *Reductions*, and the number of inhabitants in each from four to six thousand.

It must not be dissembled, that the most pathetic exhortation would not perhaps have been of sufficient weight to bring these men to the knowledge of the true God, if some means that are merely human had not also been employed at first. They saw plainly that providing

viding them with victuals in plenty was one of the most efficacious. For when the first settlements were in agitation, the *Indians* would tell the Missionaries ; *if you would have us stay with you, give us plenty of victuals ; we are like beasts that are always eating ; not like you, who eat but little, and that little at set hours.* As to this, the *Indians* are still the same, and have no regular time for their meals. The clock is not their rule, but the calls of a craving stomach. They eat their meat almost raw, as, I think, I have observed before, and resemble in this, as they do in many other things, the Savage people of *Africa*, and the *Tartars* in *Asia*.

This put the Jesuits on all the means, they could possibly use, to find their insatiable stomachs with a sufficient quantity of victuals ; they hereby entirely gained their confidence, and got a sort of right to work on their minds as they pleased. They taught them to love labour and husbandry, which the richest soil requires to be fruitful. The charitable Missionaries took care besides to provide them *gratis* with fish-hooks, knives, hatchets, scissars, needles, and other things in that kind, of great request with the *Indians*, but held too dear in the *Spanish* towns to be purchased by the poor people. They generously supply'd them with the drugs and remedies they wanted, and their charity not only appeared, but was truly, universal. These pious arts were the means  
by



by which they got power and authority to bring them under subjection to Jesus Christ.

As the province of *Guaira* was not far from *St. Paul*, the *Mamelusses* soon got intelligence of these new Colonies assembled under the standard of the Cross. They looked upon this as a favourable opportunity to increase the number of their slaves. Eight hundred of these public robbers, followed by two or three thousand *Indians*, broke in unexpectedly upon these christian Colonies. All that attempted to resist were put to the sword, the rest were carried off as slaves. Above 85000 christians lost either life or liberty in a few years. The *Mamelusses* entirely destroyed twelve or thirteen of the most promising *Reductions*.

The Missionaries were now convinced, that there was an impossibility of saving the weak remains of the *Indian* settlements, in places too much exposed to the inroads of the *Mamelusses*. Moreover they observed, that the misfortune befallen to the new Colonies was a real obstacle to the conversion of the *Indians*. For these saw, that the bringing together of christians into plantations, had contributed to make them so much easier a prey to the *Mamelusses*, and were on this account the more alienated from christianity. Upon this the Missionaries determined to transplant their remaining Neophytes above 390 miles, to the banks of the river *Parana*. The transmigration was attended

with more difficulty than can be believed ; but the *Indians*, after they had suffered much on the road, notwithstanding all the precaution and care of their pastors, reached at last the place appointed, about 12000 in number, and formed the *Reductions* of our Lady of *Loretto*, and *St. Ignatius*. Several other settlements were afterwards made between the large river *Parana* and *Uraguay*. They are disposed in such a manner, that they can defend, and give mutual aid to one another when necessary ; and moreover the Neophytes having been since inured to the hardships of war and military discipline, repossessed themselves of the countries they had been forced to quit. Here they built new towns, and were in a condition not to fear the *Mamelusses*, whom they have more than once taught to repent their former violences and cruelty.

In the year 1717, the province of *Guaira* alone, situate betwixt the rivers *Parana* and *Uraguay*, reckoned thirty two very populous *Reductions*, and upwards of 121168 *Indians*, all baptised by the fathers of the society of *Jesus*, the only Missionaries in those parts. Many other *Reductions* were founded near to one another between the great River *Uraguay* and the Sea. Others were formed towards the North, on the banks of the large river *Mamore*, that runs into the famous river of the *Ama-zons*.

On the other side of *South America* lies a  
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spacious tract, bounded on the west by the *Peruvian* mountains; on the East by the river *Paraguay*; the length from North to South is 900 miles. It is watered by considerable rivers, the *Pilcomaio*, and *Vermejo*, not to mention many others less considerable. This tract contains many nations, and particularly the *Ciriguanes*, a nation of great extent. There is to the east of the latter another nation that stretches to the lake *Xarayes*, where the *Paraguay* takes its rise. This is mostly inhabited by the *Chiquitos*, and *Manacicas*. The Jesuits had often attempted, but in vain, to introduce the christian religion among these Savages: their conversion seemed quite desperate, when the reverend father *Joseph de Arce* accompanied by F. *John Baptist de Zea*, undertook to subdue them to the empire of Jesus Christ. Providence had prepared the way by two happy incidents, and both extremely favourable to the carrying their design into execution.

Two nations were then at war. Father *de Arce* composed the difference by his talent in persuading, and restored peace and concord between the contending parties. Much about the same time he obtained a pardon for an *Indian* under sentence of death from the Governor of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*. This charitable office of the Missionary procured the good will of the other *Indians*. He got leave to make an excursion into those parts, and founded some *Reductions*. The labours of this apostolic man,



and his heroic companions, some of whom were so happy as to receive the crown of martyrdom, were published in *Spanish* by F. *Patric Fernandez*, in a book printed at *Madrid* 1726.

The Successors of these illustrious Missionaries were not content to keep up the ancient *Reductions* to the flourishing state they were in, but without any intermission carried on their labours, and planted christianity in the vast province of *Cbiaco*, and other savage tracts of the continent. They frequently had the satisfaction to see whole savage nations come of their own accord and beg to be instructed. The number of the faithful increases yearly; and we have just grounds to hope, that the time is near when we shall see all this part of the world subject to the laws of the gospel, by the laborious missions and preaching of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

## C H A P. VII.

*The wonderful Fervour of the Christians in Paraguay: their Assiduity at Church: their ordinary Practices of Piety.*

**T**O bring over the *Indians* to Christianity was not so much; but they were to be taught besides the practice of their religious duties; wherein the Missionaries succeeded even  
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yond their most sanguine hopes. The fervour that animates the *Indians* in the discharging the duties which religion lays upon them, is not to be expressed. But to have some idea of their surprising fervour, it is proper to remember what they were formerly; men, who had scarce any thing human besides the figure, who made it their business only to satisfy their brutish appetites, are now the patterns of all christian virtues. The purity of their manners, and their devotion lay before us a perfect representation of the primitive church.

Experience has shewn, that the *Indians* are for the most part, mild, docile, and have a sense of friendly usage. That beautiful simplicity which the gospel represents as a faithful attendant on innocence, is very remarkable in those that profess christianity. There is room to believe, that the fierceness, which before their conversion appeared in their whole behaviour, was not so much the effect of temper, as of a bad education. Vicious habits were transmitted from parents to their offspring by example; but as soon as the *Indians* had virtues proposed for their imitation, probity, candour, and modesty, were seen to take place of unbridled passions that governed them; and it may be said in general, that they are all good and fervent christians.

But the nature of man being also corrupted since the fall of *Adam*, no numerous society of

men can be found on earth absolutely free from fault, and without some person, that may stray from the rugged paths of virtue. Among the first christians all were not irreproachable; and it is not to be imagined, that the *Reductions* of *Paraguay* are more privileged than the primitive church in this respect. If the missionaries have not been able to prevent all fault, they have at least endeavoured to prevent the bad consequences.

To preserve order in the *Reductions*, some of the eldest Neophytes are chosen, and they are among the *Indians* what the *Censors* were of old in *Rome*, and the *Nomophylaxes* among the *Grecians*. They are stiled *Regidores*; and the particular duty of some among them is, to have an eye to the behaviour and manners of the young converts. If the *Regidores* find that any one is guilty of some considerable fault that may give scandal, as an offence against modesty, or an excess of passion, attended with any injury to their neighbour, they seize the delinquent; he is brought in a penitential habit to the church, to beg pardon of God in a public manner for the offence, and a penance is enjoined to the offender. He is then brought out to the square, where he suffers in public a punishment suited to the nature of the offence. The criminal after he has received his correction with great humility, generally kisses the hand that has punished him, with thanks, and says, God reward you for helping me to avoid, by  
this



this slight correction, the eternal punishments that hung over my head. One seldom hears that any relapse, and seldomer that the contagion of ill example spreads among the other Christians.

But what is more surprising, men, and even women, who had secretly committed the fault that they saw punished in another, ran of their own accord to the *Rigido*r and accused themselves, withall earnestly begging to suffer the same penance. A very remarkable instance, which shews how nearly the *Reductions* resemble the primitive Church, where public penance was so much practised.

Men, utterly void of the first principles of humanity, stood in need of the fullest instructions with regard to the duties of christians. The Missionaries were very attentive and careful in this point, as also to inspire them with the greatest respect for the mysteries of faith, and whatever is the object of christian worship. But as they dealt with persons of coarse understandings, and more affected by material objects than the strongest arguments, these wise ministers of the gospel took a special care to strike the imagination of their Neophytes with all that could increase their respect for holy things.

Hence they resolved, that the temples of the true God should be built and kept in order with all possible magnificence and neatness. The first churches were wooden buildings, and

of a homely structure; yet they had an appearance that seized and struck the *Indians*, not accustomed to such objects. In process of time the Jesuits taught them to make brick and lime; and also brought from *Europe* some of their lay-brothers that understood building. Whence in most of the *Reductions* churches are now to be seen built of brick or stone; and of which the most part would not displease a nice *European*. Besides the body of the church there are isles, and those sometimes are double. They never have more than five altars; a greater number would be quite superfluous. These Churches, tho' very low, are large enough. The roof which is supported by wooden pillars for want of stone, cannot be raised in proportion to the breadth and length of the Edifice. But as the houses are but one story high, the churches may be looked upon as stately buildings. Besides the great gate, and those by which they enter the isles, a great number of windows are contrived in the walls, to have more light. Moreover this number of windows is very necessary in summer, particularly for the preachers and the priests that officiate, when the church grows quite hot by the crowds of *Indians* that come to attend the church office, and who transpire very copiously.

The *Reductions* founded among the *Moxos* being the latest, their churches are far better built than elsewhere. Besides the nave and  
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the isles, there is a handsome choir under a cupolo.

As the Missionaries have from time to time brought with them lay-brothers who had learned in *Europe* several arts, of use for the decoration of sacred Edifices; the altars are set off with large pictures, or pieces of devotion, well framed, columns and cornishes highly finished, and even statues and *Basso rilievs*. The walls are commonly hung with paintings on linen bound with fringe, or fixed in a frame of wainscot-work. Here the principal mysteries of religion are represented, to make a deeper impression in the minds of the Neophytes: for pictures, to speak with St. *Gregory*, are Books, wherein the common people study religion.

Each church has a baptismal font placed in a large chapel, most elegantly decorated, as being the first thing that strikes the eye at the entrance. The ornaments for divine service are rather neat than rich; the alters are chiefly set off with artificial or natural flowers, and are strewed with sweet herbs. Garlands made with leaves and flowers are hung about the church, and yield a most agreeable smell. On the greater solemnities perfumes are burnt; the pavement is sprinkled with scented waters; they also spread all about the sweetest herbs and flowers, which the country affords the year round.

In this manner *Nepotian* came to be deservedly



edly commended by St. Jerome, who writes thus of that virtuous man, in the Epitaph he made to honour his memory †: “ he decked “ the churches with flowers, branches and “ leaves of trees, and tendrels of vines, in “ mixing of which he displayed an elegant “ taste.” The Missionaries have more than one reason for keeping up this usage.

There is in every *Reduction* a chief sacristan, and two others under him; besides six clerks, who wear bands and cassocks, with a train three quarters of a yard in length, like the clergy in *Spain*. However they begin now to leave off this troublesome fashion. All the posts just mentioned are in the greatest request; and those, who are promoted to these places, discharge their respective duties with the greatest punctuality. The novices of religious orders, even the most famed for fervour and discipline, cannot appear with more modesty, or a greater shew of attention, than the *Indian* youths, who officiate as clerks. All that relates to the divine service, even the pavement, is kept extremely neat.

But it is needless to seek in these churches for choice marbles, or precious stones. Gold and Silver are seldom used, except for the sacred vessels. What is the most worthy of notice, and is really wonderful, is the christians

† *Basilicas Ecclesiæ diversis floribus, & arborum comis, vitiumque pampinis adumbravit.*

assiduity in their churches. They not only practice what is usually observed in the best regulated parishes of *Europe*; but several other exercises of devotion, which the Missionaries have introduced among the *Indians*. With regard to this point, I beg leave to give a more circumstantial account, and which cannot but be of great edification, and is a strong proof of the zeal of the Pastors, and the fervour of the Neophytes.

Every morning by break of day all the children repair to the church, where they take their places, the boys on one side, and the girls on the other. There they recite alternately the morning prayer, and the christian doctrine, till sun-rise. Then Mass is said, and all the inhabitants are obliged to assist, without some particular reason be a just excuse for their absence. After Mass all go to work. In the Evening the children are catechised; then the bell summons all the faithful to the church, to recite the Rosary, and the evening prayers. A Mass of the blessed Lady is sung with music every Saturday; and in the evening, after the Rosary is said, her Litany is sung, and a prayer for the dead. But the account to be shortly given of the *Indian* music, will certainly surprise the reader.

Early on Sunday morning all repair to church, to sing the christian doctrine. The espousals, and marriages are celebrated next, which takes up much time, as all marriages  
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for greater solemnity are put off to Sunday. This teaches the Infidels and new converts to respect marriage as a sacrament. Then High-Mass is sung; after the gospel a Missionary goes up to the pulpit; and explains the gospel of the day. At the end of Mass enquiry is made whether any one has been absent without just cause from Mass, and whether any have missed attending at the recital of the christian doctrine; whether within or without the *Reduction* any disorder has happened that calls for a remedy: penances are imposed upon those, that are found in fault.

The children and catechumens, of which there is commonly a large number, are baptised in the afternoon. This is performed with all possible solemnity, to animate their faith, and to inspire them with esteem and respect for the holy ceremonies of the church. Then the particular congregations and societies meet to perform their respective exercises, and hear an exhortation. After Evening song the whole congregation says the Rosary. When that is ended, all retire to their homes and prepare for the next day's work.

The Neophytes are present at all these different exercises with such modesty and recollection, as cannot well be expressed. But their devotion appears in a still more sensible manner, when they are to receive the holy Eucharist.

The Missionaries always conclude their sermons



mons with an act of contrition, that contains the strongest motives to be sorry for past offences : the church rings again with sobs and sighs ; and the Neophytes full of a holy hatred of themselves, endeavour to expiate their failings with austerities and macerations, which they would carry to excess, if care was not taken to keep them within bounds.

How far they carry their tenderness and delicacy of conscience, appears particularly at the tribunals of penance. They shed a torrent of tears when they accuse themselves of defects so very small, that it is sometimes a question whether they are sufficient matter for absolution : yet they are never weary of putting questions to their confessor with a scrupulous anxiety, whether this or that be a sin. If it happens after, that they find they have any ways offended God, they leave all business whatever immediately ; they run to the church to wash away their guilt in the sacrament of penance. They confess their sins with so much grief, that the confessor feels the emotion of the penitents, and cannot forbear mingling his tears with theirs.

Almost all the *Indians* in general are poor, and yet there are none, but what are ready to succour their neighbour when they are wanted. If a church is to be built, they freely lay aside all their work, and run to offer their service. They would rather want necessities, than not contribute towards the raising of such an edifice,  
were

were not bounds prescribed to their pious generosity.

The catholic church has always shewn a particular respect for the ashes of those, who depart this life after they have received the grace of baptism; and orders due care to be taken for preserving their remains, which are one day to be reanimated and to die no more. Perhaps the intention of the church in this regard is not better observed any where, than in *Paraguay*. The burying-ground, which is of a greater or less extent in proportion to the number of the faithful in each *Reduction*, always joins to the church on one side. It is commonly a square piece of ground, inclosed with a wall breast high, and encompassed with palm and cypress trees. Within the square are several rows of orange trees that grow naturally in this mild climate. On the side of the square that looks towards the country, there is a spacious alley wholly planted with orange and citron trees. This leads to a chapel to which they go in procession every Monday, to assist at a Mass sung for the Dead. At the two extremities and the middle of this alley are planted large crosses, and there the procession halts while some prayers of the church are sung.

Perhaps it may not be improper to observe, that none are buried in the church but priests. Would to God that the same custom formerly observed in *Italy*, had still continued! Our churches

churches would not be so infected as they are with the cadaverous stench of dead bodies.

In the parts adjacent to the *Reduccions*, they have built at proper distances some little chapels, kept in very good order and neatly adorned. The solemn processions on the feast of St. *Mark*, the Rogation-days, on the titular festival of the church, and when the stations of a Jubile are performed, are made to these chapels. The procession goes through the streets, which are all laid out by the line, and have all of them a cross of good workmanship erected at the end. The procession makes a stop before each. The children sing to set music some part of the christian doctrine, and the people answer in plain-song. The procession only leaves the town to enter into most delightful avenues of Pines, Palms, and Orange Trees set by the line; these reach to the Oratories to which the procession is intended, and are an agreeable shelter from the wind, and the scorching heat of the sun. Thus every thing contributes to promote the devotion of the faithful, without any danger of its being obstructed.



## C H A P VIII.

*How careful the Jesuits are to hinder the Indians relapsing into their former Disorders, The Success of their Endeavours.*

THE devotion of the christians in *Paraguay* is not confined to exterior practices and mortification; they are trained up with care to the essential part of christianity, which consists in subduing the Passions.

I have already observed, that drunkenness, incontinence, and cruelty, were vices almost universally predominant among the Savages of *Paraguay*. As to the first of the faults, these Missionaries have inspired such a horror of it to the Neophytes, that *Cbica* is become now an innocent liquor, without any other effect, than enabling them to go through with their work. The rigorous laws made formerly against excesses in point of liquor, are become in a manner useless. When *Indians* have come to the *Spanish* towns, they have often been earnestly solicited to drink wine, which they refused to taste. And they have more than once reproached the *Spaniards* who were astonished at the refusal, “ that nothing that was good came from *Spain* but wine; and which in their hands seemed to be poison.

Incontinence is equally banished the *Reductions*. The *Indians* are generally married as soon

soon as they attain ripe age. If any scandal of this kind should happen, the punishment would soon follow the fault. Besides, all imaginable precaution is taken to remove the occasion of sin from the Neophytes. There is no more than one family in a habitation, and that consists of the father, mother and their children. Men and women are never seen promiscuously together in public places. Wells, springs, and bathing places, in common to the people, are always laid open on all sides, and exposed to public view. Some of the old men, and those deserving of respect for their age and virtue, are ordered to watch the whole day, that nothing happen contrary to decency and good manners.

Still greater care is taken, that the churches of Jesus Christ may not be an occasion of sin and scandal. Conformable to the instructions of the great *St. Charles Borromeus*, which are still followed in many places of *Italy*, every church in the *Reductions* is divided into two parts, one for men, the other for women: an empty space is left betwixt, from the great gate to the Sanctuary, or chancel. Both sides are subdivided into three parts, or classes. The first for the children, who are placed next to the rails of the Sanctuary; two, or three *Zelators* stand behind the children; they have this name from their being appointed to keep good order during the divine service. They have a wand in their hands, and with it touch or strike immediately those, that depart in

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the least from a modest and respectful behaviour.

The second class is made up of the young people, placed after the children, and watched by other *Zelators* more advanced in years. The third class comprises men of all ages: these have also their *Zelators*, chosen from among the most venerable persons of the elder sort. The women are placed in the same manner, on the opposite side of the church.

They go in and come out of the church by the side gates, the men at one, the women at the other. As they come in, they go directly to the place appointed to their class. This agreeable method of disposing the *Indians* in their proper places, is observed so rigorously that no one dare act to the contrary.

The Jesuits do not think it enough to keep a watchful eye in the day time, by themselves, or others, over the moral behaviour of the Neophytes; they have for the night secret emissaries, who are to inform them punctually of whatever may call for immediate redress. The night is divided into three watches. This kind of sentinels are relieved at every watch, and appear as if they were only employed for the safety of the country, and designed to prevent all surprise from the Savages, or *Mamelusses*.

These, and many other like precautions, with the lively and fervorous exhortations of the Missionaries, keep up a horror of vice in  
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the people : Young girls have often chose rather to die by the hands of Infidels, or ill-converted *Indians*, than consent to their criminal desires. All the Savage kind of *Indians* encourage the growth of their hair, and nothing can be a more sensible affront to an *Indian*, than cutting it ; by which means it comes that an *Indian* man is not so easily distinguished from a woman, particularly as the men have scarce any beard, and what they have comes very late. But there is no danger of this inconvenience among the christians of the *Reductions*, the men wear short hair, and bring up their children to the same custom. Thus men are easily distinguished from women, and the faithful from infidels.

But what contributes more perhaps, than all these precautions, to preserve the *Indians* from vice, is the excellent habit they have acquired, of never losing sight, as I may say, of the presence of God, and religious duties. Every thing recals' them incessantly to this holy exercise. Their memory is stored with pious songs, which they learned in their tender years. These they frequently repeat within doors, and at their work without ; their pious canticles make the fields and woods ring again.

The *Spaniards* are surprised when they meet these good *Indians*, and particularly when they have any dealings with them ; they hear nothing but songs of devotion, and discourses on pious subjects. They neither swear nor

curse, or ever drop an injurious or ill becoming word, tho' the *Europeans* are not very streight-laced about this point and many others, before the *Indians*, who can with the grace of God avoid the contagion of ill example.

The President *Don Joseph de Salazar* had ordered 500 christians from the *Reductions* to *Buenos Ayres*, to be employed there in some public work. On their return, some very frankly said to their Missionary ; “ How can  
 “ you tell us, that such and such actions are  
 “ offences against modesty and charity, when  
 “ we certainly know that the *Spaniards* commit  
 “ them with impunity ? ” “ Dear children,  
 “ the father answered, I can only tell you, that  
 “ we preach the same doctrine to the *Spaniards*  
 “ that we do to you ; it comes from God, and  
 “ is like him unalterable : if the *Spaniards*  
 “ observe it not, they must be accountable for  
 “ it at the tribunal of the sovereign judge, who  
 “ will punish their neglect severely. Be you  
 “ faithful in the practice of this holy law, and  
 “ you will by that means shew that you are  
 “ wiser than the *Spaniards*.

To prevent the pernicious effects of bad example, the Kings of *Spain* have, at the request of the Missionaries, strictly forbid the *Spaniards* and other *Europeans* going to the *Reductions*, unless it be a case of necessity on a journey ; and then they are not suffered to stay above three days in any *Reduction*. This order does not include the Bishops, their grand vicars, and

and the governors of the Province. As soon as an *European* arrives at a *Reduction*, some sober discreet *Indian* joins him immediately, under a pretence of accompanying and honouring the stranger, but in effect to observe his conduct.

The Colonies are most remarkable for fervour and innocence, that lie at a greater distance from any communication with the *Europeans*; yet those that are nearer are far from admitting any remissness among them, and their piety seems to increase daily, and to gather new vigour. Thus we find in *Europe*, that the fear of God, and the horror of sin, prevail much more among country people, who are separated from wicked christians in towns. Their frugal meals and constant labour contribute also to their not having either any desire or opportunity of offending God.

But as the example of parents has the greatest influence on the behaviour of children, the christians in the *Reductions*, take a special care in educating those well, whom they have received from heaven. They endeavour to instil into them true and solid piety, and to be the model, which they are to copy. The most advanced in age are the most punctual in the observance of their duty. Can it be a wonder, that the youth should strive to imitate their example, or not dare to go beyond the bounds of modesty?

As to cruelty and a revengeful spirit, vices



so rooted in the hearts of Savages, there is not the least trace of them in the *Reductions*; the inhabitants live like brothers, and what the Scripture says of the first christians is verified in them: *and the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul.* [Acts iv. 32.] Hitherto a murder has not been heard of among the christian Colonies of *Paraguay*; discord appears very seldom; and law differences, if any happen, which is very rare, are immediately determined by judges appointed for the purpose.

Tho' public funds are fixed for the maintenance of the poor, every one makes it a point of duty to succour them according to his abilities. And what is much more, if the inhabitants of a Colony have had a bad crop, the neighbouring *Reductions* contend who shall do their best to relieve them in their want. They give what will support them conveniently till the next year, and what is sufficient to sow their grounds, without expecting any consideration for this signal service, except the same good office on a like occasion.

The charity of the *Indians* seems to redouble in behalf of the idolatrous *Indians*, to draw them to the knowledge of the true God. They submit willingly to any ill usage in hopes of converting an infidel. When they can engage an unbeliever to visit a christian colony, they receive him with all the demonstrations of gladness and pleasure. The more their guest seems

seems destitute of humanity, the more he is carressed. They lodge, maintain, and cloath him; all give him the best they have. He is taught the christian doctrine, and the prayers of the church; and when he determines to embrace the christian faith, this occasions a public rejoicing, in which every one has a sensible share.

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C H A P. IX.

*The Music of the Indians.*

**I**Ntroducing music among them was another means, which the Missionaries used, and is equally powerful to maintain and increase the devotion of the faithful, and to bring over infidels to our holy religion; and must have a place here. The greatest part of the Missionaries were sufficiently acquainted with this liberal art. How music pleases the *Indians*, is not easy to imagine. The ministers of Jesus Christ began immediately to think of making their advantage of the particular inclination they observed in those people to harmony. A Missionary could hardly begin singing some canticles relating to christian doctrine, but these savage infidels at that time would instantly bolt out from their thickets, and lurking holes, and follow with the greatest transports the voice they heard. When the Missionary perceived

a great number gathered about him, he would then set out with preaching evangelical truths, thus prepare the way for founding a new *Reduction*.

Besides the natural inclination, which the savages had for all kinds of music, the Missionaries discovered that they had excellent qualifications for their becoming good musicians. There are very fine voices commonly found among them, owing in part, as it is pretended, to the waters of the *Parana* and *Uruguay*.

The Missionaries chuse among the children those who appear at that age best qualified to be formed into musicians. They teach them to sing, and to touch instruments with so much exactness and nicety, that their pious concertos are not less pleasing and affecting than those in *Europe*. And hence they have established in each *Reduction* a chapel, as they term it, or a band of musicians, who equally execute the easiest and the most composed pieces of music.

It must no doubt be surprising to hear, that we have scarce any musical instrument in *Europe*, that is not in use in the *Reductions*; that they play on the organ, lute, spinet, violincello, trumpet, &c. and what is still more, that very near all the instruments used among them are of their own making.

Several *Europeans*, who have heard the *Indian* music, assure it is no ways inferior to that of the *Spanish* cathedrals. F. Cattaneo, among other



other things which he desired Mr. *Cattaneo* his brother to send him, asks the following in these words, by a letter of *February 1730*, "I would gladly have also three or four masses, the vespers of the confessors, and those of our Lady, in music, with all the parts; the whole well copied as to the notes and words, and composed by the best masters in *Italy*; as also twelve or fifteen concertos of *Signor Alberti* of *Bologna*, the first of his composition, which are so much esteemed by the connoisseurs, and which are not too difficult for our performers." The Missionary desired these things of his brother for his dear Neophytes. And hence a judgment may be formed of what the *Indians* are able to do as to music.

Let us add here the testimony of a *Spaniard*, who accompanied the Bishop of the Assumption, when that Prelate made his visitations in the *Reductions* of *Uruguay*. "In one of the last visitations, he says, which his Lordship our Bishop made among the *Guaranis*, we were just coming into one of the *Reductions*; all the inhabitants were assembled there to meet the Bishop, a choir of children advanced towards us singing the praises of the christian doctrine. But one amongst them very soon engaged the attention and eyes of as many *Spaniards* as we were in company. He played on the violin-cello so gracefully, and in so masterly a manner, that the Prelate struck with admiration, as well as the rest, ordered the choir to stop, and the

the child to come nearer, and play a sonata by himself. The child came forwards in obedience to his Lordship's orders, and after making a low and respectful bow to his Lordship and the persons who attended him, rested the instrument on his foot, and played about a quarter of an hour, with such exactness and so nimbly, that it was impossible to be tired with hearing and admiring the performance. On other occasions, as I have gone by myself through some of the *Reductions*, where I always found the kindest welcome from the Missionaries, I have heard the music of the *Indians* more than once, and always with the same surprise that I experienced at first. I shall not be easily brought to believe that the music of the most celebrated cathedrals in *Spain* can be heard with greater pleasure." Such is the care of the Missionaries, to make an advantage of every thing that can endear religion to the *Indians*; and experience shews that this noble and masculine music of the church, far from softening the heart, at once encreases the devotion of the Neophytes, and procures them a most sensible pleasure. This appears evidently when they assist at solemn masses, processions, and other pious ceremonies, where the praises of God, and his holy mysteries are sung forth in so devout a manner. This makes the strongest impression on the infidels that come to the *Reductions*, and inclines them most to fix their abode there.

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The ancients in their writings recount wonderful instances of the power of music on the fiercest minds, and their expressions really fall short of the truth. But nothing surely is so glorious for this charming art, as being highly instrumental in increasing the number of christians. Their esteem for music makes them look upon being elected to the office of a chanter in a church as a singular honour. In effect the persons raised to this kind of dignity are afterwards esteemed the most knowing in the nation, as they can read the Mass, and the canonical hours.

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C H A P. X.

*Their Manner of solemnizing the principal Feasts of the Year in Paraguay.*

NOT to repeat what I have said on the assiduity of the Neophytes at church, I only observe in short, that their assiduity redoubles on the greater festivals, when most of them appear at the holy table and receive the Eucharist. I shall dwell more particularly on the feasts, which are celebrated in a manner that is so singular as to deserve being related.

When *Corpus Christi*, or the day appointed for solemnizing the feast of the Sacrament of the altar, draws near, the *Reductionists* make



preparations to honour the festival with all the magnificence that is in their power. The church is adorned with particular care, as well as the squares and streets where the procession is to pass. As their poverty affords nothing better than rural decorations for setting off the ceremony, they dispose these so elegantly, and with such agreeable variety, that the appearance is not in the least short of pleasing as much as our tapestry paintings and plate in *Europe*. At certain distances the *Indians* raise triumphal arches in the streets, which take up their whole breadth. These are covered with branches of trees twined together, and borders and festoons made up of the gayest flowers and fruits the season affords. Some go a fishing for the choicest fish; others a hunting for deer, tygers, lions, and other extraordinary animals, which they hang up in symmetry on the triumphal arches. They add peacocks and other birds, which are to be provided by the *Caciques*. But they chiefly get together as many extraordinary birds alive as they can, that are remarkable for the bright colours and variety of their feathers. They find these very commonly on the banks and islands of the larger rivers, especially the *Paraguay*. And this river has in effect its name, which expresses *the river of feathers*, from the multiplicity of extraordinary birds that are bred on the side of its stream. The *Indians* tie these birds by the leg to the triumphal arches with a long string, that they  
may

may be at liberty to fly from branch to branch and display the beauty of their plumage.

They likewise place along the streets, young tygers alive, and other wild beasts, that they have taken in snares, and secure them so fast that they cannot hurt any one; and this in their thoughts is the highest pitch of magnificence.

The front of the houses is set off in much the same taste as the triumphal arches, with sweet scented herbs, fruits, flowers, birds, pies, and cakes of all kinds, which the women make on purpose for the occasion. The whole is intermixt in the form of festoons, trophies, and a thousand other figures, exceeding one the other in beauty. One sees also pieces of linnen cloth, or callico, adorned with feathers, which by the variety of colours, or being disposed with great art, present the eye with a particular kind of spectacle. The ground is strewn with leaves, flowers, and odoriferous herbs. And it looks as if all kinds of creatures had agreed to pay homage to their creator.

In fine the *Paraguayans* set before their door in neat baskets, *Mayz* and other grains, designed for sowing their lands, that their Lord, as he passes by in the Sacrament, may bless and multiply them in proportion to the wants of the *Reduction*.

After the solemn mass is over, the procession is disposed in the same order very nearly as in *Europe*. Some troops of soldiers open the march with

with drums, and other warlike instruments. On this occasion the soldiers are armed with muskets, and a volley is discharged from time to time. The men and women go some before, others after the blessed sacrament, ranked in the same order as they are at church. The *Caciques*, captains, Royal *Corregidor*, the *Alcaldes*, public notaries, and the rest of the civil and military officers, take their place about the canopy, under which the holy Eucharist is carried. Some of the most respectable *Zelators* are dispersed here and there to keep order, and prevent any thing contrary to the respect due to the presence of Christ. No one dares to absent from this ceremony without having a just excuse. No one utters a word; their mouths are only open to sing forth the praises of Jesus Christ. Men and women, old and young, all give authentic proofs of their belief in this august mystery of the love of God for mankind. Bands of musicians, divided into different choirs, fill the air, which echos again with pious canticles, during the course of the procession. When they are returned to the church, some christians of a riper age, and fit to be trusted for their fidelity, are chosen to go and collect all the eatables which served for the decoration of the houses and triumphal arches. These are distributed by the Missionaries, who send what is choicest to the sick. What remains is for those *Indians*, who contributed most to the decoration of the triumphal arches



arches, and their houses. In this manner the true God triumphs in the midst of these nations, who appeared not long before to be almost wholly ignorant of his being. The neighbouring infidels are invited to the festival; and frequently it happens that many struck with this devout and religious sight, renounce their infidelity, and beg to be admitted into the population as catechumens.

The concourse of people is yet greater on the feast of the titular Saint of the *Reduccion*. The inhabitants of two or three adjacent Colonies are commonly invited, and repair to the place, with the *Corregidores* and *Caciques* at the head in their formalities.

On the eve the feast is proclaimed at noon, by ringing of bells, sound of trumpets, and beat of drum, before the house of the royal *Alfiere*, so they call the officer that carries the royal standard on solemn occasions. This standard is displayed under a magnificent canopy over the entrance into the *Alfiere's* house. At the hour appointed, the *Alfiere* mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, sets out with all his retinue for the church. He is attended by the most distinguished persons of the neighbouring *Reduccion*s, commonly to the number of 500, on horseback, and preceded by some companies of foot. The royal standard goes before the *Alfiere*, and is delivered into his hands at the gate of the church; and after being presented with holy water by the parish

parish Priest, he is conducted in ceremony to the principal chapel, and placed on an Estrade, or a floor raised above the pavement, and covered with a carpet. But he enjoys this honour on this solemnity only throughout the year. When the first vespers are over, some bands of children, neatly and decently attired, are set to dance in the church, as they do in the cathedrals of *Spain*. The *Alfiere* is reconducted home in great pomp, but not the same way that he came. This officer, as well as the *Corrégidors*, *Alcaldes*, and *Caciques*, are to lodge the principal strangers: the rest are distributed in different quarters of the town.

At the close of the evening, all the streets are illuminated, bonfires are made, and sometimes fire-works are played off. Next morning and the day of the feast, all the inhabitants resort to church very early to partake of the holy sacraments. A great many strangers also come to the holy table. At the hour appointed for High-Mass, the royal standard-bearer repairs to church with the same ceremony as he had done the day before. After service they bring the *Alfiere* home, where a splendid entertainment is prepared. Messes of all sorts, and the best of bread, are served up in such profusion as satisfies their craving appetite. The guests are the *Caciques*, captains, and the strangers of greatest consideration in other *Reductions*. Their common drink in these entertainments is an infusion of some herb, very pro-

probably the herb of *Paraguay*. Some bottles of wine are brought in towards the end of the entertainment. But as wine is very dear in these parts, it is distributed with such frugality that tho' it raise their spirits, it does not affect their heads.

The other strangers are regaled according to the abilities of the persons with whom they are. There they spend their time till vespers, and go to church when called by the ringing of the bells. The *Alfiere* comes with the same pomp. After divine service they go to the great square, where a kind of entertainment is performed. Those who have issued public challenges to all that will contest the prizes with them being well mounted, and divided into several bands, advance under the banners of their respective *Reductions* assembled on the occasion. At first some lances are broken, then they run at the ring. The Missionaries are present, both to prevent disorders by their authority, and to determine in quality of judges the differences between parties. They have their particular places, and a table before them, where the prizes for the victors are laid. These are only beads, medals, scissors, knives, &c. After the most valuable prizes have been adjudged to those who have shewed the greatest dexterity, they divide the rest in such manner, that even those, who have deserved least, are rewarded; and thus all retire satisfied. A

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signal



signal given by the judges immediately puts an end to these diversions.

They are also allowed to dance sometimes. But they dance by themselves; I am not sure that the women dance in the same manner. These *Indian* dances accompanied with instrumental music please so much, that even the *Europeans* are surprised, and always find them too short.

In this manner the christians in *Paraguay* find means to reconcile piety with innocent and commendable mirth. And thus the love of fraternal charity and hospitality are kept up in these little common-wealths.

It is needless to enlarge on the fervour and devotion, which the Neophytes shew at the service in holy week. They add several pious ceremonies to those of the church, which are of themselves so moving and affecting.

The better to revive the memory of Christ's sufferings in his passion, they endeavour to represent the whole history, and to express in outward shew the sentiments of penance and compunction that penetrate their hearts.

## C H A P. XI.

*The Employments of the Missionaries among the Neophytes.*

**T**HERE are commonly two priests in every *Reduction*, one of them is by office the parish priest. One of the two is always in town to assist the Neophytes, if wanted, while the other makes excursions into the country, either to visit the sick, or instruct and comfort them, who by their condition being to attend the cattle, and the corn, cannot come to church. When any pressing occasion calls, the neighbouring Missionaries give one another mutual assistance.

Sundays and holidays the christian doctrine is explained to all the people assembled at church; and the children are catechised every day; their number is generally upwards of a thousand.

There are set times for instructing the children, who come to the tribunal of penance for their first confession, or for their first receiving the sacrament of the holy Eucharist. Other times are assigned for instructing the catechumens. These are commonly in great numbers, and give the Missionaries a great deal of trouble: for they must make use of interpreters to be understood by the *Indians*, till they have learned the language of the *Guaranis* usually

spoken in the *Reductions* of *Parana* and *Uruguay*.

The confession-seat also takes up much of their time: for their confessions are always long and perplexing, the good people having numberless doubts to propose, or scruples to be removed. It is an established practice among all the Neophytes to confess at *Christmas*, *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, on the feast of the tutelar Saint of the church, and at the *Jubilee*, which his holiness grants them yearly.

During the *Jubilee*, the Missionaries of different *Reductions* go over to each other, not so much to help, as that christians may have the liberty of confessing to strangers. The confessions begin eight days before that appointed for gaining the indulgence. In this manner the faithful are prepared during the whole week for a general communion, by all the exercises of piety practised on such occasions.

In every *Reduction* the Missionaries have instituted two confraternities, consisting of a certain number of the faithful, and like those in *Europe*. They admit into one of them the younger people from twelve to thirty years of age. This is under the protection of the archangel St *Michael*. The other under the Protection of our blessed Lady is for persons more advanced in years. None are received into these confraternities, but who have been a long time candidates, and earnest suiters for  
their



their admission, and have moreover given assured proofs of fervent and steady piety. The members of these associations meet on Sundays before vespers, to hear a Sermon, after which they recite the prayers in use among the Sodalities of *Europe*. They confess and communicate very frequently. When any commits a considerable fault, he cannot be more sensibly punished, than by being expelled the congregation.

The cares and labours of these indefatigable Missionaries do not stop here; one of their chief employs is to attend the sick.

Hitherto it has been impossible to moderate their ravenous appetite. Custom and a craving stomach, which has a great power over them, have constantly prevailed against all the instructions they have had with regard to the advantages of temperance for the preservation of health, and so they still continue to eat without moderation. As we have said above, they glut themselves with all sorts of fruits, they eat their meat almost raw, which brings on frequent indigestions. Their only remedy then is to plunge themselves in the great river near which the *Reduction* lies. After this they sleep on the grass, or the damp ground, without farther care. This irregularity is the cause of many infirmities, that descend from father to son. What is worse, the *Indians* when indisposed, cannot take the least care of themselves. A *Reduction* of seven or eight thousand souls is  
esteem

esteemed very happy that has only two hundred sick at once, or reduced to keep their bed. So many infirm persons are a heavy burthen to the Missionaries. They visit them all one by one, provide them suitable remedies, and see that the remedies are taken in proper time; they prescribe the diet proper for each case, which is prepared at the house of the Missionaries. At last when death is near at hand, and threatens the sick, the Missionaries never leave them neither day nor night, that they may administer the Sacraments in due time, and comfort them with all sorts of charitable offices.

Still this is nothing to what these zealous servants of God do and suffer, when an epidemical distemper rages in the *Reduções*. The plague is not known in *Paraguay*; but now and then malignant fevers of various kinds have a run amongst them. Sometimes the small-pox, which is only known in *Paraguay* by the name of the plague, lays the *Reduções* waste. They die by thousands; and whatever care is taken, they are generally carried off in a few days. Every house becomes an hospital. The sick lie on the ground; their bedding is a deer's skin, and a callico coverlid, or at best a hammoc. It is easy to imagine what resolution and patience must arm a Missionary on these occasions, to administer the sacraments to so many sick in the midst of the infection, that fills their huts, and to procure them all necessary relief. For the Missionaries are the shepherds  
of

of their souls and physicians for their bodies. More than once Infidels have flocked in crouds to the *Reductions*, and overlooked the danger to which they were exposed, to be witnesses of the Missionaries charity, and have been brought to embrace christianity through the impresson made on them by this edifying and affecting sight.

But, as if so many laborious and almost continual employments could not satisfy their zeal, the Missionaries have moreover set up a school in every *Reduction*, for the children of the *Caciques*, and of the better sort; and for those also, who are intended for the church music. They are taught reading, writing, casting accounts, and singing. This establishment is of great service, and daily makes the *Reductions* flourish more and more: for when their understandings are thus improved in their infancy, their hearts are prepared in a more particular manner for the practice of christian virtues. Besides they are put into a way of directing the manufactories, taking care of the public Revenue, and managing the interests of the *Reduction*, conducting embarkations, and in a word, of discharging all functions in the common-wealth.

The *Indians*, before they were taught christianity, had no word to signify any number above four: if they would signify five, they held up one hand, if ten both; to express twenty they pointed to both hands and feet. Any number  
above



above twenty was expressed by a generical word, that signified many. They could not distinguish a number of years, persons, or other things, that should be told exactly. But now they learn arithmetic from their infancy. Nor is this all : on Sundays after divine service, the numeration table is repeated to the people in the church, that the *Indians* may retain better what they learned in their infancy.

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## C H A P. XII.

*The continual Labours of the Missionaries to extend the Empire of Jesus Christ in Paraguay. The Fatigues and dangers to which they are exposed.*

**W**E have seen what methods the first Missionaries of *Paraguay* took, to bring the Barbarians of those vast tracts under the yoke of Jesus Christ, and how they succeeded in their glorious enterprises. Their worthy successors have not discontinued their labours for the farther propagation of christian religion ; and tho' they meet with less difficulties in the execution of this project, they still undertake fatigues, and run the hazard of dangers, sufficient to dishearten persons of less courage and intrepidity than these apostolic men.

But men must not imagine, that the Missionaries

missionaries I am about to mention, are not the same with those whose labours and employments I have just described. They are the very same persons, who, it should seem, finding the *Reductions* too small a compass for their charitable zeal, make frequent excursions into infidel countries, yet so as to have one constantly with the Neophytes to assist them in case of necessity.

When they have hopes of gaining a barbarous nation over to Jesus Christ, a Missionary sets out directly with his *Breviary* under his arm, and a stick headed with a cross in his hand. He commonly takes some thirty *Indians*, who are his interpreters, and by that means join with him in the functions of preachers and apostles. They are often obliged to travel above a hundred miles with a hatchet in hand, to cut a passage through the forests, before they can reach the habitations of the Savages. Sometimes they must climb up steep and craggy mountains, wade through bogs and fens, lakes, deep and rapid rivers. Commonly the bare ground, or a slender matt, is the only bed they have in these laborious expeditions. Happy is the man who sets out with a hammoc, wherein to rest at night, secure from the bites of venomous serpents, and the attacks of wild beasts. They are frequently reduced to a few handfuls of *mayz* for their food. Their provisions are often quite spent in long expeditions, and the travellers have no  
other

other relief but wild roots and fruits. At other times they are forced to suck the dew of the leaves, to allay the thirst that torments them under the excessive heats of a burning sun.

When they meet a body of Savage *Indians*, they find them always armed and ready to be upon the defensive, from a fear the Savages have of the *Mamelusses*, who have sometimes surpris'd them disguised like Jesuits and *Reduction-Indians*. They had indeed too much reason for their fears. For the cruel inhabitants of *St. Paul* observing, that proper measures had been taken against their depredations, have made frequent use of this hellish stratagem. They went beyond the river *Paraguay* as far as the territories of the *Chiquitos* and *Ciriguanis*. Some went before dressed like Jesuits, and attended by a certain number of *Indians*, as the Missionaries generally are on these occasions. They could counterfeit the behaviour, and discourse, of the Missionaries, and induce the *Indians*, to quit their poor habitations, in hopes of joining with other *Indians*, and forming a considerable population, to live in greater security and plenty, than they had done in their forests. When they had brought a great number together, they amused them till their warriors came up, who fell upon these unfortunate *Indians*, put them into Irons, and drove them to *St. Paul's*. This infernal contrivance was for a long time an obstacle, which the



the true Missionaries could scarce get over in their enterprises; they lost the confidence of the *Indians*, and a great deal of time was spent before it could be recovered.

Some of the Savages are persuaded, that the Missionaries only come among them to make them slaves and sell them after to the *Spaniards*, for whom they have the utmost aversion. As often as they have room to suspect, that a Missionary, who is in search of them, comes from any part of the *Spanish* dominions, his arrival immediately causes a popular tumult, not easy to be pacified, and of which the Missionary is frequently the victim.

Some Savages have obstinately refused to give ear to the Missionaries, or after a little attention, have given them this cool answer:  
 “ you say that the God of the christians knows  
 “ every thing, that nothing is hidden from  
 “ him, that he is every where, and sees all  
 “ that is done here below. We do not desire  
 “ a God so sharp sighted. We chuse to live  
 “ with freedom in our woods, without a per-  
 “ petual censor and judge of our actions over  
 “ our heads.

But the conversion of the *Indians* is more difficult, where they have a *Mapono*, who, to secure the advantages and perquisites of his post, can do no less than prevent his countrymen giving any credit to the minister of the true God.

After the Missionaries have by dint of pati-  
 ence

ence calmed the minds of the *Indians* and engaged them to receive the gospel, they commonly give their consent upon very hard terms, and with many restrictions.

So when father *Joseph d' Arce* penetrated as far as the *Chiquitos* in 1690, and made them a proposal of embracing the christian religion; the neighbouring *Caciques* summoned a general meeting of the *Indians*, to deliberate on so important an affair. All came to the rendezvous about midnight, and began to dance to the music of Flutes and Hautbois. The *Caciques* dancing proposed the affair, and discussed it seriously, without discontinuing their dance. After dancing, they fell to drinking. It was in *July*, and the midst of winter, with regard to their situation on the other side of the equator. They all went notwithstanding to bathe in a neighbouring river; in the next place they put their finest plumes of feathers on their heads, to make the ceremony more solemn, and painted their faces and bodies over with the oddest colours. When day came, their first care was to sit down to a plentiful meal. After these strange preparations, it was unanimously resolved, that the christian law should be admitted in the country, but on the two following conditions. The first, that who did not chuse to become christian, should not be obliged to leave the country: the second, that children, tho' their parents were christians, must not serve at the altars. The Missionary

accepted these terms, tho' he foresaw they might have bad consequences. Full of confidence in God, he hoped that the most obstinate would in time be gained by the example of others, and the efficacy of the word of God. And accordingly they began to work at the *Reduction* the last of *July*: and as the church on that day keeps the feast of *St. Ignatius*, this new settlement took the name of the Saint, and was put under his protection.

I have often spoke of the fatigues, which the Missionaries suffer in these expeditions. To place this in a stronger light, I shall give here an instance, which at the same time will confirm what I have said.

Father *John Baptist de Zea*, a renowned Missionary, had formed a design to propagate the faith of Christ among the *Zamucos*, a populous nation, situated to the west of the river *Paraguay*. He set out in the month of *July* 1716. The blustering storm they met with at first, violent and continual gusts of wind, with the overflowing of the rivers, proved such an obstacle, that in nineteen days they only advanced some two and forty miles. Going farther, he came soon after to a thick forest thirty miles in length, and which he was of necessity to cross. A hundred Neophytes who accompanied the Missionary, and who were strangers to the extent of the forest, undertook to open a passage with their hatchets. After several days, when they saw no end of



their toil and labour, they were wholly discouraged. It is not easy to conceive what they suffered under whole clouds of *Mosquitos*, several kinds of horse flies, that attacked them day and night without any respite. The Missionary revived their drooping spirits, by his warm exhortations, and much more by his example. He led the way with a hatchet in his hand; he fetched water to refresh the poor creatures burning under a scorching sun. At last having made their way through the forest in nineteen days, they found that all their pains and labour were to no purpose; for want of provisions obliged them to return home. The next year he set out again, and he and all his company were very near being drowned. They were surprised with a swell of waters, which came insensibly upon them, whilst they cut a passage thro' another forest that they found in their way. The Missionary with great difficulty got back to the place from whence he came. All these obstacles however did not abate his resolution. He was resolved to make another attempt, and setting out from his *Reduction* in May 1718, he reaches the first village of the *Zamucos* on the 12th. of July. The people in appearance shewed the most promising dispositions. Many Infidels embraced christianity, and others did not seem averse to religion. This Missionary was in a short time after nominated Provincial of his order, he left his dear Neophytes with regret, and entrusted them to the care of father

*Michael*

*Michael de Yegros.* Nothing seemed left to be done by his successor, but to gather the fruits of the other's labours. He was full of the flattering prospect, when he repaired to the *Zamucos*, accompanied by *Albert Romero* a lay-brother, and some *Indian-Reductionists*. He was received with all possible demonstrations of joy and friendship; and the conversion of the whole nation seemed to be beyond all dispute, when they threw off the mask on a sudden. Brother *Romero* was massacred by the Barbarians, when he was using his best endeavours to bring them back to the way of salvation. Twelve *Indians* of the *Reductions*, who had followed him with an intent to second his zeal, met with the same end. Father *de Yegros* was at the distance of some few days journey, and looking out for a proper place where the new *Reduction* could be fixed, when he received this melancholy account.

However intrepid and prudent a Missionary may be, and tho' he were blessed with a sweetness of temper that could prevail with the greatest Barbarians, he must be in a constant disposition and readiness to fall a victim to their rage, under a shower of arrows, or by their clubs. But this continual danger, far from cooling the zeal that inflames those servants of God, is seemingly a greater encouragement to abandon themselves in the forests to the will of those cruel nations, well  
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contented to die, if they can but succeed and bring them over to the faith of Christ.

The Society of Jesus may justly boast of a great number of christian Heroes her sons, who have had the happiness of dying for Jesus Christ. But here I confine my pen to those who have had this glorious fate in the missions of *Paraguay*, and it shall suffice to name them as they occur to my memory, viz. FF. *Roch Gonzalez*, *Alphonfus Rodriguez*, *John del Castillo*, and *Peter Romero*, the first founders of the *Reductions*, and who cemented them with their blood. The Savages murdered afterwards on different occasions, the FF. *Peter Ortiz*, *Bartholomew Blende*, *James de Alfaro*, *Joseph d'Arce*, *Peter Espinosa*, *Luke Cavallieri* and the FF. *Fernandez*, *Arias*, *Mazzo*, *de Silva*, *Mendoza*, *Solinas*, *Ozorio*, *Ripario*, *Sanchez*, besides numbers of others, who have made these barbarous tracts fruitful by shedding their blood, which, as in primitive times, has been the seed of an infinity of new christians. Two other Missionaries, whose names have not reached me, obtained the crown of martyrdom in 1721. and 1722.

If so many other evangelical labourers, who incessantly water the provinces of *Paraguay* with their sweat, have not the same exit with the great men now mentioned, they cannot surely want the merit, who have the desire of martyrdom. And moreover, what is a labori-



ous and painful life like theirs, but a continual martyrdom?

I could wish that some one among the enemies of the church of *Rome*, who carry their averfion to the Jefuits fo far, as to afperfe the zeal of thofe admirable missionaries, and their purity of intention in the laborious functions, which they difcharge among the infidels, would only accompany them awhile in their apoftolic excursions, to fee, and examine what they do, and what they fuffer for the falvation of fouls. He would undoubtedly, and that very foon, lay afide former prejudices, and perhaps what he had feen would fuffice to make him renounce his error, which the Sectaries can never pretend to have been propagated by apoftles that could be compared with thofe of the catholic church.

Thefe illuftrious fervants of God, 'tis true, have not at prefent fo many difficulties, and are in lefs danger. The number of *Reductions*, and their prefent flourishing ftate have made a ftrong impreffion on the minds of the Barbarians. They have conceived a high opinion and efteem for the authors of thefe wonderful fettlements, and which have fpread their reputation far and near. Even thofe that refufe fubmitting to the laws of the gofpel, refpect the evangelical minifters; fo that they feldom dare to maltreat them, much lefs to take away their lives. The chriftians are become formidable by their numbers and the victories, which they

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have obtained, when obliged by necessity to have recourse to arms. The Infidels fear that the christians would revenge the death of their pastors; and they well know, that if they went about it, nothing could withstand them.

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### C H A P. XIII.

#### *The Zeal of the new Converts for the conversion of Infidels.*

**H**itherto the zeal of the Missionaries has been the chief subject of our discourse; but the holy flame, which carries them into the heart of the most barbarous countries is not wholly confined to them; they have transfused it to their Neophytes. The converted *Indians* became in their turn most fervent preachers of the Gospel.

When a Missionary sets out to carry the faith of Christ into any Savage nation, thirty, or forty, and frequently more, come and offer to accompany him. These zealous Neophytes have all they can wish, when the Missionary is pleased to admit them as companions in his labours. We have observed already, that they serve him as guides and interpreters; that they open and clear the way for him through the thickest forests; and that they watch for his safety.

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However ready the Missionaries may be to seal with their blood the faith, which they preach, still prudence teaches them to take special care of their lives, as it may be for the service of religion; and they must as far as they can prevent in the Barbarians such crimes as would draw upon them the wrath of heaven, and be attended with consequences very fatal to christianity. For if a Missionary be killed by the Savages before a *Reduction* is well established, the conversion of the murderers is not to be hoped for of a long time. They retire to the forests and to inaccessible rocks, and imagine that either the *Spaniards*, or the new christians are ready to fall upon them.

For this reason, the Superiors of the Society, when they send any subject into the quarters of the Infidels, insist upon his taking with him a sufficient number of Neophytes for the safety of his person, and that the Barbarians may conceive an idea of the respect due to the law of God. But it has happened after all these wise precautions more than once, that the Missionary and his escort of *Indians* have been assassinated by the Barbarians.

I have said before, that there is now an easier access to the Savages. Means have been found at last to persuade the most part, that no one intends to harm them. They are perfectly easy as soon as they are assured, that the person, who comes to them is really a Missionary. The head *Cacique* comes up to the travellers,



salutes them after the fashion of the country, and desires to know what cause has moved the servant of God to visit their people. The Missionary answers in person, if he know the language, otherwise he intimates by his interpreter, that he only undertook the journey, to make the great God, the creator and Lord of the universe, known to those he speaks to; that as he comes deputed by the same God, he hopes they will hear him. Then he distributes among the *Caciques* the little presents he has provided, and by that means disposes them the better to hear, and profit by his instructions.

Now the Neophytes give full scope to their zeal, by the encomiums they give to the *Indians* of the christian religion, and of the Missionary, of whom they speak with respect, and whom they introduce to them as the minister of the almighty. They endeavour chiefly to convince the *Indians*, that not only they have no design to make them slaves, (this is what they fear most) but earnestly desire to make their lives easier and more comfortable. They instance in themselves as proofs of the truth they assert. Their zeal, seconded by the divine grace, gives a wonderful efficacy to their words. Generally the Barbarians take a resolution to embrace christianity, or they consent at least, that the Missionary shall be at liberty to live amongst them. But it happens sometimes, that none will submit to the yoke  
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of the gospel, whatever efforts the Missionary makes; either because the Savages will not resolve to renounce their former vicious habits, or because the *Maponos* threats make them continue Idolaters.

When the Savages shew a willingness to receive the Missionary's instructions, he takes proper measures according to the number gained over to Jesus Christ. If that be great, he forms a new *Reduction*. If only two or three hundred, or less, are converted, he invites them to come and settle in some old *Reduction*. Tho' the new converts should formerly have been looked upon as irreconcilable enemies, they are now welcomed as relations and friends, whom a long absence had separated. The Barbarians are in raptures, and quite transported, with this behaviour; nothing civilizes them more than the kind welcome they find, when they come without any bad design among the christians; and more particularly, when they come to live subject to the laws of Christianity.

But their charity does not stop here; they supply, as far as in them lies, the scarcity of evangelical labourers, who are often wanted in those parts. When the great rains are past, there appear whole troops of Neophytes led by their *Caciques*, who make their excursions into the neighbouring countries, to announce Jesus Christ to the Infidels. These fervorous christians take with them large stores of

provisions, and some trifles, which they know will be acceptable to the savage *Indians*. After they have received the sacrament of the Eucharist, and asked the Missionary's blessing and advice, they set out chearfully on their journey. The toil and dangers inseparable from these excursions, have no power to weaken their zeal. To suffer death on this account is what they most earnestly desire. Above a hundred Neophytes, who endeavoured in this manner, to procure the conversion of the Barbarians, have fallen by their hands.

However they seldom return without a great number of Infidels. When these find the christians so faithful in keeping their words, and discharging their promises, they soon petition to be baptised, and in a short time become zealous christians.

The Neophytes exercise their zeal and charity in a different manner, and which very well deserves to be related. It is well known, that these savage nations are engaged in continual wars. The chief advantage of victory, in their opinion, consists in the number of prisoners, who are kept to be slaughtered, and devoured in the feasts and rejoicings wherewith they conclude their military expeditions. The bones of the persons devoured are used by the *Indians* to head their arrows; and this is so dangerous, that the wounds received from these arms are judged mortal, if the least splinter remain in the flesh. They have a custom to  
keep



keep the captive children, that they may sell them to other nations, and procure what they want by this traffic. When they are upon this trade, and near any of the *Reductions*, this is a precious occasion of gaining new subjects to Jesus Christ, and they purchase them for corn, *mayz*, cloth, and the fruits the Country affords, which they give in exchange.

The *Corregidor*, after he has received the instructions of the Missionary, goes to the Savage *Indians* in the name of the community, to buy all the prisoners. The bargain being struck, he carries off the children. The miserable creatures half starved, and worn out with the hardships they have suffered, when they see that they are delivered from this horrible bondage, and the dread of approaching death, soon recover their strength. The *Caciques* and chiefs of the settlement take care of the boys, as they are distributed among them by the Missionary. The girls are placed with the most discreet and exemplary women in the town. These children educated with those of the christians, fed and maintained as they are, acquire by degrees a regard and love for virtue. They are taught the language of the Country, and are instructed in the mysteries of Religion. When they are thought to be duly prepared, they are admitted to baptism. The day they are released from the bondage of sin, is also the day on which they recover their liberty in all

all respects, and are upon the same footing with other christians

There are *Reductions* where yearly savings are laid up, to purchase the liberty of some of these prisoners, who may be said to find their safety in the ruin of their country.

It would be in vain to undertake giving a circumstantial account of all the particular means that their piety suggests to propagate Religion. Some among the Neophytes take in charge the teaching the Missionaries newly arrived, the language of the Country. And this they do with incredible application and patience, and are never weary with repeating the same word a hundred times over. There was a *Cacique*, who employed his time in translating Prayers and Sermons into his mother tongue, that the new Missionaries might be enabled to enter sooner on the evangelical functions.

In fine the charity of the Neophytes facilitates at present more than ever the establishing of new *Reductions*. When one is to be founded, the ancient undertake to furnish the infant settlement with all necessaries, till they can support it with their own labour. They generously supply them with grain, as well for their food, as for sowing the lands they have cleared for tillage. They send in cattle, labourers, and tradesmen of all sorts. It is true, that the Bishops, Governors, and most of the *Spaniards* distinguished for birth and generosity, are also

also used to contribute towards this charitable work.

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C H A P. XIV.

*The Ecclesiastical Government of the Reductions.*

W HAT I have farther to say of the form of government established in the *Reductions* will engage in a particular manner the attention of the Reader. As the run of discourse has been so various, and according to the different dispositions of persons for or against the Missionaries, with regard to their conduct in the *Reductions*, and the authority they assume; this consideration has obliged me to be the more exact in my inquiries concerning this article. And first, I solemnly protest, that I will not advance any thing in this or the following chapters, but what I am well assured is true.

The Neophytes of *Paraguay* are subject, as the rest of the faithful are, to the jurisdiction of the Bishops, in whose Diocesses the *Reductions* were first founded. These Diocesses are those of the *Assumption*, *Buenos Ayres*, *Cordova*, and two or three others in those immense tracts. But this part of their Diocess is not very difficult to govern. The church of each *Reduction* is served by two Jesuits, one is the curate, the other



other his vicar. As for the rest, here are neither Abbots, tonsurate clerks, nor secular Priests; no Monasteries, nor confraternities, as in the catholic parts of *Europe*. The Bishop needs only to take care that his pastoral mandates, the decrees and briefs from *Rome*, and his wholesome instructions on certain emergencies be forwarded to them, with his alms, and those he collects from the liberality of opulent and zealous *Spaniards* for the propagation of the faith.

When the Missionaries arrived from *Europe* have attained a competent knowledge of the languages, spoken by the *Indians*, and have given proof of the qualifications necessary to discharge the duties of this arduous office, they are presented by the Provincial of the Jesuits to the governor of the Province, who under the royal authority nominates them to the vacant places, after which the Bishop gives them institution to the respective churches, and is also pleased to grant them the powers reserved to him, as Bishop, for their being farther enabled to take care of souls. These Missionaries enjoy an infinity of privileges which they have from the Bishops, or the see apostolic, both to promote the conversion of Infidels, and to benefit the converted.

The Bishops nevertheless are sometimes prompted by their zeal to visit the *Reductions*, chiefly to administer the sacrament of confirmation to the Neophytes, who have not yet  
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received it. The intent of these long voyages is not so much to exercise their visitatorial right, as to be edified themselves, and to imitate the excursions of the first apostles.

When the Bishop of *Buenos Ayres* designs to visit the *Reductions* in his Diocese, he must lay in provisions to subsist himself and his attendants during a journey of six hundred miles. This is what they generally compute the length of the way from his episcopal city to the first christian colonies of *Uruguay*. Throughout this part of the journey there is not a dwelling, or a village, to be seen, where the least thing can be had. The travellers of necessity pass the nights under tents, or in portable chambers, which they bring with them.

The whole country is a continued desert as far as the *Reductions*. Another thing is to be observed, that this prelate's annual income is only three thousand *Piasters*; whereas the Archbishop of *La Plata*, the Metropolitan of the Province, enjoys a yearly revenue of more than sixty thousand.

It must also be owned, that these charitable Prelates are amply indemnified for the pains and inconveniences, to which they are exposed, by the comfort they find, when they reach the end of their journey. The *Indians* know no greater happiness, than that of receiving, and seeing their chief Pastor, once at least in their lives. They invite him in the most pressing manner to make them a visit. As soon as they know

know their request will be granted, they prepare to make him as welcome, as their circumstances will allow. All beg earnestly, that they may have the honour of serving him in some shape or other. Some undertake to level the roads, where he is to pass; others will be his guides, his escort, and his guard against the Savage *Indians*, and wild beasts.

Some take upon them to furnish provisions and refreshment along the most desert passes; and that these *Indians*, commonly a course of men, may discharge their employs about his Lordship in a handsome manner, *Corregidores*, and some of the leading men of the Colonies, that have more understanding, and are politer than the common people, are nominated to accompany and to command them. In fine the Prelate is received by the Neophytes with all the pomp and respect imaginable. No Bishop has ever visited the *Reduções* without tears, when he has observed the fervour of these good christians, the regularity of their manners, their respectful behaviour in the churches, and to make an end, their submission and docility with respect to those, whom they look upon as the fathers and pastors of their souls.

But what I am chiefly to observe is, that the Jesuits of *Paraguay* have always desired and petitioned for episcopal visitations more than any other persons, to the end that the  
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prelates might see with their own eyes, what little foundation there is for the calumnies and aspersions thrown out against the Missionaries. In effect all the Bishops, that have gone through *Paraguay*, have given the most honourable testimony in favour of these excellent ministers of the gospel; and especially in their letters to the Popes, and the Kings of *Spain*, on this subject. They have always thought it an obligation incumbent upon them to publish the virtues of these apostolic men to the whole world.

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C H A P. XV.

*The civil Government of the Christian Settlements in Paraguay. The happy Situation of the Neophytes.*

THE temporal compared with the spiritual advantages enjoyed by the christians of *Paraguay*, are not respectively inferiour to the latter. Perhaps our *Europeans* accustomed to luxury, state, and pleasures, will not be easily persuaded, that so poor a nation can be truly happy. But yet it really is so; and their situation, when examined by true principles, is preferable to the present state of the most flourishing nations in *Europe*. Their liberty is well regulated; they have in plenty all necessaries for life; their houses are small, but suffi-

sufficient; peace, union, and concord, reign amongst them; and is not this all that can make a nation happy?

Thus the *Indians* themselves administer justice, and govern the *Reductions*. As they all have no other object in view but the public weal, this makes them act in concert, and maintains a concord, and harmony among them extremely advantageous to the nation. Besides the Missionaries, whose disinterestedness is sufficiently known, and who are even universally respected for this reason, are very vigilant, and take care, that no one abuses the power he has by his office.

They never go to the full severity of the law in punishing criminals. A due regard is always had to the narrow compass of their understanding, which has a great share in the faults committed by the *Indians*. But as chastisements are necessary to keep within bounds such as are deaf to all motives but fear; and as some of these are always to be found in every *Reduction*; the royal *Corregidor* and the *Alcaldes* inflict penalties, but with great prudence and moderation. And no final determination is made without consulting the Missionaries. Ways and means are found to punish offences in such a manner, that the offender may not conceive any aversion to continue his residence in the colony. But in case an atrocious crime is to be punished, which is capital, for which it would be difficult  
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to produce precedents, the affair is carried to the tribunal of the Governor of the Province, in whom alone is vested the power of condemning an *Indian* to death.

If we consider next the burthens imposed by the Kings of *Spain* on the *Indians* in the *Reductions*, these are so easy, that all the nations in *Europe* would think themselves happy under the same. A very small tribute is exacted as an acknowledgment of their vassalage; they have no other obligation besides, but to march for the King's service, when they are commanded to take the field; for building, or fortifying towns; but this seldom happens. They are very well recompensed in consideration of these burthens, by the privileges which *Philip* the IV. and *Charles* II. granted to the *Indians*, and which the most religious King *Philip* V. now reigning has confirmed. [*The author wrote this in 1743.*]

For first, all the *Indians*, who have embraced the catholic faith, and who on their own accord have submitted to the crown, are the immediate subjects of the King; nor can their lands, or persons be made over in fee, or in *Commendam* to any one, (as it is done with respect to other *Indians*, who are subjects of *Spain*,) or any ways depend on any particular person. 2dly. No more than a *Piaster* a head can be annually demanded; while the other *Indians*, made over in *Commendam*, pay five times as much, and are besides liable to many other



other vexations. 3dly. The converted *Indians* are not taxed, till they are twenty years of age, nor is this tax payable by *Indians*, who have embraced the christian religion in an advanced age, nor by women, nor by any turned of fifty. All the *Caciques*, as being noble, and twelve other *Indians*, in every *Reduction*, who are employed in the service of the altar, are exempted from this duty.

The *Indians* pay this money themselves at the capital of the Province into the hands of the Kings officers, who immediately give them an acquittance in writing. The officers of the *Reductions*, in concert with the Missionaries, are to see that the tribute is duly paid; and this is done without any difficulty. And by this means there is no occasion in this country, as in *Europe*, for collectors, who are often a greater burthen, than the duties they collect.

The Revenues paid to the King by the *Indians* hardly suffice to bear his expences on their account. For as often as evangelical labourers are sent by his orders from *Europe* to *Paraguay*, he allows three hundred *Piasters* for every one, and is at all the charges of their embarkation. Ten thousand *Piasters* more are allowed yearly out of the royal Treasury, for the support of the Missionaries in *Paraguay*. The King gives a Bell to every new Church, and all the sacred ornaments that are necessary for every new Settlement. The King is also  
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at the expence of all the wine used at the altar, and of all the oil that burns night and day in the lamps before the altar. This is no trivial charge, as both are brought from *Europe*. They cultivate vines in *Peru* and *Chili*, which yield a pretty good wine; but this must come by land-carriage, which would add considerably to the expence. I am not informed, whether the Jesuits have attempted to plant the Olive in *Paraguay*. It seems that those trees would succeed in that soil, unless it be like that of *Hispaniola*, where they set down some plants brought thither, which in a few years came on to admiration, but never yielded any fruit.

In fine, the royal Treasury allows each *Reduction* a hundred and forty *Piasters* to find drugs for their use. I do not bring in to account, the extraordinary alms given by the Kings of *Spain*, which often amount to considerable sums. It is observed that the catholic Kings are at the same charge, for the benefit of Religion, throughout all their Dominions in *America*; and in effect they receive even in this world the reward of their generous piety. It is a kind of a miracle, that they have kept a quiet possession of such a vast and extended empire for two hundred and fifty years.

Add to these advantages, the real title which the *Indians* have acquired to his catholic Majesty's protection by this easy tribute. They have more than once found the happy effects of

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his patronage, when they were not yet able to raise sufficient forces for their own defence.

Is it not another great advantage for the *Indians* to have it in their power, as it were, to decide all suits and differences without Lawyers, Attorneys, Notaries, and to be utter strangers to all the by-ways and evasions of pettifoggers? If any dispute arises among them, it is immediately determined by a peremptory judgement of the *Alcaldes*, who neither know what it is to protract law-suits, or to take a bribe.

As to what concerns the substance of the *Indians*, there is not a family that has not a parcel of land allotted, more than sufficient, to support every person in it. The large rivers, which have infinite numbers and variety of birds on their banks, abound, as do the lakes, with all sorts of fish. One cannot step without meeting game of all kinds in the woods, and fruits, tho' wild, yet very agreeable to the taste. Bees of various kinds provide plenty of exquisite honey, and the finest wax. The sugar cane grows wild in moist places. Among the fish, particular notice is taken of two amphibious animals the sea-hog and wolf, in shape and size not unlike the land animals from which they take their names. The skin of the sea-wolf or Basse, is so soft and fine, that it might be mistaken for velvet; it is of a snuff colour, and sells at a high price when well



well cured. The flesh of the sea-hog is said to be very wholesome and delicious.

The knowledge of the true God, and passing from a brutish life to the practice of all christian virtues, are unquestionably the most signal benefits the *Indians* have received from the Missionaries. But what is there, that they do not owe to their care and trouble in procuring all conveniences of life for every *Reduction*, as far as their situation could allow?

To consider what the first settlements must have cost these evangelical workmen is something that must strike our imagination. A whole body of people was to be provided for the space of a whole year, that is till their first harvest. But what was still harder, a coarse and unexperienced people were to be taught by degrees those arts, which are necessary, and in process of time such as are useful, tho' not necessary, to society. The Missionaries were forced to act, if I may be allowed the expression, all sorts of parts, and to work at all trades successively. Sometimes they forwarded the public work much more by example, than words. Then they took to clearing of lands till that time waste and uncultivated. Some turned up the ground with wooden ploughs, others sowed *Mayz*, barley, beans, and all sorts of pulse, of which they had procured seeds. Some hewed down trees, and conveyed them to the *Reductions*, to build a church and houses. Others drove six or nine hundred miles herds

of cattle, flocks of sheep, goats, and domestic fowls, which they fetched from the *Spanish* towns, to stock the settlements. Father *Peter Espinosa* lost his life in this commendable exercise of charity. He drove a numerous flock of sheep from *Santa Fè*, when he was taken, and massacred, by the barbarous nation of the *Guaiaguires*. What can be more edifying, than the project which those great men had in view! These were born in the chief cities of *Europe*. Many were distinguished by their noble extraction, or had by their superior talents deserved applause in the chairs of the most celebrated universities. Not content to renounce the conveniences of life, and the reputation, which they had reason to expect in *Europe*, to the end they might embrace the painful and obscure life of Missionaries in barbarous countries, they became herdsmen, masons, joiners, and carters. They took to the meanest, and most laborious trades; and all to teach the *Indians*, whom they had converted these professions, and to make them understand, how necessary it was they should apply themselves seriously to those trades.

While the Missionaries toiled in the sweat of their brow, the Savages usually kept with folded arms, and looked on in amazement; but never so much as thought of offering to take their share in the work, tho' satisfied, that they were better able to bear it than the Missionaries, who on the other side underwent these

these fatigues for the benefit of their Neophytes. In the *Spanish* towns this scheme of the Missionaries was generally looked upon as a downright piece of folly. But God who had inspired this noble design to his servants, gave his blessing to an enterprise they went upon for his glory. Thanks to the early labours of these first brave Missionaries, the lands of the *Reductions* are this day well cultivated, and generally answer the labourers hopes. There are now in every colony Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, Weavers, Sculptors, Architects, and even Painters, and Engravers, who all vie one with another to excel in their professions. Nothing forwards them more in these arts, than their earnest desire to beautify the churches and altars. Some have learned to melt metals, and make all sorts of musical instruments. And lastly, the women can spin, sew, embroider, and cut out clothes.

The *Indians* in general are represented as unfit for speculative sciences. I apprehend that this character is imposed upon them. This seeming dulness may be only an effect of their education. The *Indians* in *Paraguay* live much as our people of the country in *Europe*. Do not these appear as simple and coarse, without any genius or taste? And yet the Country, especially where the air is thin and sharp, produces as well as the towns, men of invention and parts, who when they are trained to arts, sciences, and trade, are great proficient.



ents. The same would happen, I am persuaded, among the *Indians*, could their children be exercised and brought up in schools as they are in *Europe*; and some would shine with distinction in sciences and the *Belles Lettres*. This may be well inferred from a great facility they have in learning music, and other arts, taught them by the Missionaries.

We have here in *Modena* at messieurs *Cattaneo's*, a small piece painted by an *Indian*, and sent over by Father *Cattaneo* their uncle. The piece does not indeed give any great idea of the painter; but the uncle took care to let them know, that many better were to be seen in *Paraguay*. As the *Indians* are without means to come at nice colours, the colouring wants life and strength. They imitate extremely well with a pen printed Letters, Engravings on copper. Father *Cattaneo* gave the following account in a letter to his brother *Cattaneo*, dated the 30th. of *December* 1730.

“ I send you a couple of draughts drawn by  
 “ an *Indian* with his pen from the original  
 “ prints. To me they appear two master-  
 “ pieces. I am bold to say, that had these  
 “ been done by some celebrated hand in  
 “ *Europe*, he would have gained credit by the  
 “ delicacy and easiness of the drawing. It is  
 “ well known, how difficult it is to design  
 “ with the pen. But our admiration is  
 “ raised much more, when we find it is the  
 “ work of a poor raw *Indian*, who spends his  
 “ days

“ days at work in the fields. An *Indian*  
“ copied in the same manner a small picture  
“ of the conception of our Lady, such as is  
“ commonly put in Breviaries, or the priests  
“ office book, which the *German Missionaries*  
“ prized so much as to send it to *Vienna* by way  
“ of a valuable curiosity, to be placed in a  
“ famous cabinet with another of the same  
“ nature, sent formerly by Missionaries of the  
“ same Nation. The two pictures you receive  
“ from me, are without dispute superior to  
“ those in the elegance of the work, and the  
“ great number, and the happy disposition of  
“ the figures. I think they would grace a  
“ Prince’s cabinet.”

If the *Indians* have no great success in several pieces of work, it is owing to the mediocrity of the patterns they copy. Can they want wit, who have so great a disposition for all arts? Is it not far more likely, that were the *Indians* applied to higher studies, their capacities would soon begin to shew and display themselves? Some would be fit to be admitted into the Society of Jesus. This would be a great advantage to *Paraguay*. And this extended part of the Lord’s vinyard would not be so often destitute of labourers.

Since the Missionaries have not yet taken this course, they must without doubt have cogent reasons for the contrary. I must however beg leave to affirm upon the evidence of several creditable relations from those parts,

that the *Indians* have as good heads as we; and that they want nothing but study, and being cultivated.

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## C H A P. XVI.

*Their way of Life. The wise Regulations, that keep up Order, Plenty, and public Tranquility in the Reductions.*

**A**FTER a general view of the happy state the christians enjoy in the *Reductions*, it is proper to consider the means that contribute most to secure these advantages to the *Indians*. We must also say something with regard to their way of living, and their dress

The *Indians* have neither slaves to command, nor haughty and imperious masters to obey. Each inhabitant occupies a parcel of land lent him by the public; they are usufructuary Tenants, without any payment to be made to any person, except the *Piafter* mentioned above, and which is the yearly tribute due to the Sovereign. Every *Indian* is rich in proportion to his diligence and application to work. The *Indians* sow their fields with all kinds of grain, and pulse; especially *Mayz*, and *Manioc*, which are their most common food. *Manioc* has this advantage, that the bread made with it is very strengthening, and keeps very well. It is of great



great service on a journey, or when country work is to be attended many days together.

I do not understand why the *Indians* neglect cultivating rice; as their lands lie along the rivers, these would supply the great quantity of water necessary for that sort of husbandry. According to an account sent from the country of the *Chiquitos*, the vast plains between them and the lake *Xarayes*, are yearly covered with plentiful crops of rice, which the soil naturally produces. The *Payagnas*, the *Gnatos*, and other neighbouring nations, come to reap what they have not sowed.

The *Caciques*, captains, magistrates, and the chiefs of every Population, are distinguished from the common; but this distinction does not consist in greater, or more lasting possessions, or in any riches that are the fruit of trade and industry. Hence it does not affect their equality, like the difference we make between noble and ignoble, rich and poor, masters and servants; odious distinctions, that make one part of mankind perpetually hate or envy the other.

Their common dress is a wastecoat breeches, such as the *Spaniards* wear, furtout or upper garment, which is shaped something like the ancient upper vestment of a priest at mass, and reaches to the midleg. This kind of garment is called *Poncio*, and like the rest of their clothing, is white. This colour is pitched upon, that they might be washed from time to time.

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If an *Indian* wear a *Poncio* of another colour, it is either a present made him, or a prize gained in the tournaments above mentioned. Some indeed, more industrious than the common, have learned to die cottons. But the common dress is generally white; and cloaths of colours are only worn on the greater solemnities.

None but the *Caciques*, Captains, and chiefs, wear shoes. The dress for the women is a shift without sleeves, that comes down to their feet, a girdle, and gown called in their language *Tipoi*. The gown has sleeves, and is of the same length with the shift. The women never go without the *Tipoi*, unless when they are at hard work; and as their long flowing hair nearly resembles a nun's veil, one would think at a distance, that they were nuns busied at country work.

The *Indian* women bind their foreheads with a head-band drawn very tight; to this band they fasten their burthens, which rest on their shoulders; much the same account is given of the women on the coasts of *Africa*.

The christian *Reductions* are built with great simplicity; the church is the most remarkable edifice; the house of the Missionaries joins to the church; next are the store houses, and the public granaries, where all sorts of grain the herb *Cua*, cotton, and other provisions, are stored up in common, to be distributed to the people yearly as they want. Contiguous  
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hereto are built the shops and work-houses for the different trades ; then follow the houses of the *Indians*, disposed like stalls in a market place. The streets are laid out by a line. The houses have only a ground floor, and consist in a square hall, where all the family is lodged. They are made of reeds plastered with mortar, and without any chimnies or windows ; and so have no aperture but the door, to admit light, and to let out the smoake of a constant fire kept in the middle of the room. The *Indians* usually take their rest in hammocs, fixed at the ends of the dwelling. As soon as they rise, they fold up the hammoc, and hang it upon a hook in the corner. They sit cross legged on the floor round the fire, These good people give themselves little concern about unnecessary furniture, which would only be an incumbrance ; and are perfectly easy with mere necessaries ; in so much that the desire of superfluities never disturbs the tranquility they enjoy.

The entire want of gold and silver, and of all money whatever, is the solid basis of the union and concord that subsist among the *Indians* ; they are absolute strangers to those idols of cupidity. *Paraguay* has no metal mines ; at least none has been discovered. The iron and steel used here, are imported from old *Spain*, in ships that arrive every three or four years at *Buenos Ayres*. And thus it happens that the *Indians* being but ill provided with necessary  
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instruments, cannot without great difficulty be great proficient even in those arts, which they understand. They bring their bell-metal for casting Bells from *Coquimbo* in *Chili* 1500 miles off *Parana* and *Uruguay*.

Some hundreds of *Indians* go annually to trade in the *Spanish* towns. All the *Reductions* equip, at their common charge, *Baljas* or Floats, to carry to *Buenos Ayres* and *Santa Fé* their merchandise down the rivers that fall into *La Plata*. These commodities are the herb of *Paraguay*, Leaf-Tobacco, Honey, the fruits of the country, Hides, and furs of several animals, and cottons. The *Indians* have Factors in these towns, whom they leave charged with their interests. Part of the money arising from their effects goes to discharge the yearly tribute to the King; with the remainder they purchase first what is necessary to be provided for the church, and then all the utensils for husbandry, and what other tools the *Indians* may want. In this manner their traffic, like that of the first inhabitants of the earth, consists in the exchange of merchandise and provisions:

These journeys of the *Indians* to the *Spanish* towns, where they only have in view the welfare of the public, and private interest has no share, commonly last some months. And to the end their lands may not suffer by this long absence, some of the most industrious inhabitants of the respective *Reductions*, are ap-

appointed to look after them. These discharge this office so well that the travellers, at their return find their plantations in as good a condition, as if they had done the work themselves. All their travelling charges are allowed, and the *Reduction* they belong to make them a present of some furniture, or provisions from the public stores.

It was foreseen that the *Indians*, what by neglect, what by other accidents, might find the want of necessaries. Many of them have no thought of what is to come; and we must not forget that the *American*, as well as the *African* nations, are averse to work. The Missionaries were to provide, that their Neophytes should not by their fault suffer a fatal scarcity, which sooner or later would bring on the ruin of religion. They must look on themselves as fathers of families with great numbers of children not yet arrived to maturity, unable to act for themselves, and unacquainted with what conveniences of life they ought to procure.

The wise ministers of the gospel took this method to preserve plenty in the *Reductions*, and rescue the *Indians* from their indolence and natural laziness. After having assigned a parcel of land more than sufficient to maintain each family, they distribute amongst them the quantity of grain that is necessary to sow their ground, but on this condition, that after harvest they shall bring to the public stores as much

much grain as they have received, that the common fund of seed grain may be always kept up. Without this precaution, the *Indians* would certainly eat all their grain, and leave themselves even without hopes of another harvest.

Every family has a pair or two of oxen lent them for their husbandry. If they were the property of the *Indians*, the poor animals would be soon past all service. For it has often happened, that some *Indians* to spare themselves the daily trouble of putting the yoke on their cattle, never took it off. Others would knock them down, and soon eat them up, without giving any reason but that they were hungry. Now indeed they are more careful of them, as they are obliged at the expiration of a certain term to restore them in good plight.

In fine the Missionaries chuse overseers among the most active and vigilant Neophytes, to run over the grounds, and observe whether they work, sow, and reap, in due time; whether measures are taken to make the provision of grain hold out from one harvest to the next; and to conclude, whether the cattle be well looked after. The faulty are punished severely. It is equally the advantage of the public, and of particulars, that every one do his task, and that the slothful be not maintained at their expence who are more laborious.

But whatever care is taken, provisions are wanted by many about the middle of the year,  
either



either thro' sickness, or some private misfortune they have suffered; or it is owing to their imprudent profusion, They will suffer no beggars in the *Reductions*, much less put the poor under a necessity of stealing. To fence against these two inconveniences, they take this method. Besides the lands assigned to particulars, there is a considerable extent of ground, the best and the most fruitful that they can find, which the *Indians* call *Tupambae*, that is, *the possession of God*. The management is committed to some understanding laborious *Indians*. This is cultivated under their direction by the children of the *Reduction*, who to the age of fifteen are employed in this work, and who supply by their numbers what they want, in strength. In the morning all these children except those at school, or in the workhouses, after they have said their prayers, got their breakfast and heard mass, repair to the *Tupambae*, Here they spend the whole day, they turn up the ground, plant, or cut down the *Mayz*, according to the different seasons; or thrash out the grain, sow greens and pulse, or attend the cotton shrubs; this last requires the most care. About two hours before sun-set the children give over working, and go to church, where they are catechised by the Missionary; then all the people recite the Rosary, and evening prayers in common. When this is over, all the girls assemble in the square, and the boys in the court of the Missionary's house. Victuals are di-

distributed to both, which they carry home, and eat before their time of rest. All grains, fruit, and cotton, gathered from the *Tupambae*, are deposited in the public granaries and store-houses, in order to be distributed in the course of the year to the sick, the orphans, the handicraft's men, who have no profit from their labour but being fed and maintained at the public cost; in a word to all such as are any ways dispensed from tillage by their employment or business, and even to those, who thro' their own negligence, or some casualty, reach the end of their provisions before that of the year. Hence also are taken the stores furnished to those who go from home, either on the affairs of the *Reduction* or the crown. From time to time, by order from the governor of the Province, five or six thousand *Indians* collected from the different *Reductions*, have marched from *Paraguay*, and their maintenance has not cost the King of *Spain* one *Piafter* all the time they were on his service, unless it be judged proper to make them some gratification, which they are with the greatest difficulty brought to accept.

The advantages of this communion of goods among the Neophytes appear at once. The *Indians* are poor and want nothing. A perfect equality is kept up among them, which is the strongest support of public peace and concord.

Another particular, which deserves the greatest

est notice, is what has been mentioned elsewhere, that if any of the settlements is reduced to want by the distemperature of the seasons, or by accidents, which make the most industrious labourers lose all their pains, or by the mortality of cattle, the neighbouring *Reductions* never fail relieving and helping them to recover their losses, without desiring any thing but the same assistance on the like occasions.

Keeping the *Indians* in cloaths does not require the less attention. Were this left to them, they would soon go naked, like the Savages. All the work houses and shops are placed together about a large court, near the house and under the eyes of the Missionaries. Here are to be seen all the different artificers that are necessary, and chiefly numbers of weavers, who are constantly employ'd in weaving cottons, for cloathing the *Indians*. They are maintained, as has been said before, at the public expence, nor do they receive any other salary for their labour. All the cotton gathered, either on the *Tupambae*, or on the estates of particulars, is brought to the public storehouses. A certain quantity is distributed in the beginning of the week to the women and little girls, who bring the cotton back on Saturday all spun and ready for the Loom. And by this means more cloathing is provided, than is wanted for all the *Reduction*.

An Apothecary's shop is established about  
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the center of *Paraguay* at the common charge, and furnishes all the *Reductions* with the medicines they want. There is likewise a library common to all the Missionaries. These admirable contrivances, and many more too long to be related here, are due to the prudence and charity of the Missionaries. They have neglected nothing to make the *Reductions* an agreeable Residence for their dear Neophytes, and to invite Infidels to settle among them.

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## C H A P. XVII.

*The Animals of Paraguay, and the use and advantage made of them.*

THE Spaniards have brought into *America* almost all the domestic animals known in *Europe*. We have observed before, that many straying from their owners ran wild. Their numbers are so increased, that the plains in the neighbourhood of *Buenos Ayres* are covered with cattle. They have spread more or less over all the other parts of *South America*.

The people of *Buenos Ayres* spend several months of the year in hunting these wild cattle; as this will be very fully related in one of Father Cattaneo's Letters, I will not dwell any longer upon this subject. It suffices to observe in short, that the hides of the wild cattle killed yearly, are the chief riches of the country.

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That stout and thick leather imported from *England* to *Italy*, is mostly made of the hides, which the *English* bring from the western parts of *Africa*, and chiefly from *Paraguay*, where they purchase them for six or seven *reals*, that is about two shillings a hide. The *Spaniards* now and then send ships whose cargo is chiefly hides to *Cadiz*, where the *English* merchant has for a long time bought them. It is also forbidden under severe penalties to the *Europeans*, settled in *Paraguay*, to sell these hides to any but *Spaniards*. This prohibition is so ill observed, that the *English*, and *Portuguese*, carry off the far greater part. But certainly they have them not from the new converts in *Paraguay*. What favours chiefly this counterband trade, so detrimental to the interest of *Spain*, is an important post which the *Portuguese* seized in 1679. It is situated overagainst the town of *Buenos Ayres*, on the other side of the river *Plata*. The *Portuguese* erected a fort, which they were forced to quit soon after. But taking the place again, they raised such fortifications in the Island of *St. Gabriel*, that they have held it against all the attempts of the *Spaniards*. This settlement, which they call the new colony, or commonly the colony of the blessed Sacrament, is a staple for them and the *English*. The latter in 1727 had formed a design of seizing on another Island at the mouth of the river; and would have succeeded in the attempt, had they not been

prevented by the *Spaniards*. The *Indians* of *Paraguay* hunt also wild cattle, Deer, &c. The flesh of these, and such like animals, and bread, is almost the whole of their food. And the hides and skins are carried to the *Spanish* towns, when they go out upon their traffic.

Moreover every *Reduction* is provided with a sufficient stock of domestic cattle and horses, for the use of the *Indians* in tilling their lands, or for other purposes. They have no sort of stalls, or stables. Excepting a horse or two which they keep in a kind of court yard near their houses, the rest are left to ramble at liberty in the open fields.

When they have occasion for any horned cattle, or horses, whether wild, or tame, they catch them with a slip knot, much in the same manner as they do in some parts of *Italy*, where the cattle rove in the same manner. Three or four *Indians* mount their horses. They all have ropes in their hands; one end of the rope is fastened to the saddle, there is a noose at the other end. As soon as they perceive a bull or cow, they twirl the rope about to keep it in a proper motion, and pursue the beast they intend to catch. When they think they are within reach, they dart out the cord, and with the noose seldom miss catching the animal, either by the horns, or the neck. If the animal, finding itself hampered, turns against them, they avoid him with wonderful dexterity. If the beast resists, they keep side-  
ways



ways to break the force of its sudden pulls. They chiefly endeavour to fasten the rope about a tree, that there may be less room to struggle in. A youth about fifteen will stop this manner, one of the largest and fiercest bulls. By pulling the rope suddenly this and that way, he forces him to make so many turns and back again that he wearies out the beast, and stuns him; and after he has cast him, he knocks his brains out with ease. When there are a great many hands together, they catch the beast in a snare by the legs, and never leave off pulling at the rope, till they have brought him down. From what is said, it is easy to conclude, that the *Indians* make no use of cow's milk, which appears in *Europe* in so many different shapes, and almost generally agreeable to the taste, and conducive to health.

Horses are not so easily caught, and run incomparably swifter than the horned cattle. The main difficulty is to be near enough to cast the noose about their necks. But what may not be so easily believed, the *Indians* catch the wildest and fiercest of creatures in the same manner. But they must be a good deal more dexterous, for instance, to catch a tyger; and were not the *Indians* the best horsemen, there would be reason to fear their being unhorsted, and falling a prey to these fierce animals. The tygers of *Paraguay* are said to be greatly larger and fiercer, than these of *Africa*.

Wild beasts are also attacked in another man-

ner, particularly by the unconverted *Indians*, who are more dexterous, and more used to this exercise, than others. Besides their javelin, bow and arrows, they carry a rope some two or three fathoms long about their waste by way of a girdle, and a round stone in a leather bag at each end of the rope. The bags are made of neat's leather. Among all their weapons the *Indians* have none more dreadful. When they are to engage a lion, or tyger, they take one of the stones in the left, and whirl the other about as in a sling with their right hand, till they are within reach, and let it fly with such force, that it either kills, or disables, the animal. Besides, the legs are so entangled with the rope as to hinder his running or even moving without great difficulty, then no hazard is run in dispatching him. They use this weapon chiefly in taking ostriches.

When the *Indians* go a fowling, or hunt animals that are not so dangerous as those just mentioned, they have only bows and arrows. They are so dexterous that they seldom miss a bird even flying. They often kill large fishes as they spring above the surface of the water. But those, who hunt the stag, the *Vigogna*, *Guanacos*, and the like swift-footed animals, make use of the noose, and the rope with a stone at each end.

The *Vigogna* resembles much a stag but is larger. The hair that grows under the belly makes the finest hats, called *Vigogna-hats*.

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That growing on the sides, serves to make towels and handkerchiefs.

The *Guanacos* comes still nearer to the Stag, but is something less. He has a long neck, and large beautiful black eyes. This animal bears his head aloft with great majesty; he is very swift, but does not hold a long course. He is soon tamed. The *Spaniards* make use of them to carry the oar from the mines. The hair of the *Guanacos* resembles much that of the goat, sometimes white, sometimes black, or reddish. As it is always a span at least in length, and sometimes two or three, the *Guanacos* wants no pannel for the easier carriage of his load. He cannot endure heat; and when the beams of the sun are very scorching, he begins a bleating, throws himself on the ground, and endeavours to get rid of his burthen. 'Tis to no purpose to force him to rise, he will not stir till he finds the air cooler. The *Indians* eat this animal as we do mutton, and the *Spaniards* in their language give it the name of sheep; it is extremely disagreeable to the *Europeans* by a faint and wild smell.

There are moreover great quantities of Roebucks, wild-hogs, and hares, seen in *Paraguay*. They have three sorts of stags, one larger the other less, than ours. Venison is in high request among the *Indians*. Ostriches are very common. Their necks and legs, as all know, are very long; and they carry their heads six or seven foot high from the ground.



As their wings are not proportioned to their bodies, they only serve them to run the faster. Their feathers are of an ash-colour, mixed for the most part with black and white. They are died in several colours. The egg of the Ostrich eats very well, but is not easily digested; and some are pretended to be big enough to dine several persons. It has been affirmed by some, that the Ostrich digests stones and iron; but this fact is without any proof.

There is a singular animal in the country of the *Moxos*, and known there by the name of *Orocomo*. Its hair is red, and the nose ends in a point. When this animal, which in size is as big as a large dog, and lives in the woods, sees an *Indian* armed, he runs away; but if he find him unarmed, he attacks and throws him on the ground, without any further harm, if the *Indian* take care to feign himself dead. After tumbling him about for awhile, and as it were to examine whether he is really dead, the *Orocomo* is satisfied with covering the *Indian* with leaves and boughs, and goes off into the thickest of the forest. The *Indian*, who knows the animal, rises as soon as the other has disappeared, and seeks his safety by a speedy flight, or climbing up a tree; where he can observe at leisure all that passes. The *Orocomo* is not long before he returns accompanied with a tyger, which he seems to have invited to part of his prey; but meeting with this disappointment, he sets up a most hideous howl, and

and looking sorrowful at his companion, seems to express his concern for giving him the trouble of an unnecessary journey.

There are also different kinds of Bears in these forests; and one peculiar to *Paraguay*. The pismire-bear (for this is the name he goes by) has instead of a mouth, a round hole that is always open. This country produces an infinity of pismires. The bear claps his muzzle to the pismire nest, and thrusts in his pointed tongue very deep; he waits till it is covered with pismires, and draws his tongue quickly in, to swallow a swarm of these diminutive animals. The same sport is renewed often, till he has enough of this favourite food.

Tho' the pismire-bear is without teeth, he is very well provided with other terrible weapons. If he cannot attack his enemy like the lion, or tyger; he hugs him, and squeezes him strongly between his paws; he tears, and pulls him soon to pieces. These bears frequently engage the tygers. As the tyger makes as good use of his teeth, as the bear does of his claws, the engagement generally ends in the death of both the combatants. But all these fierce creatures seldom attack a man, unless they are first attacked; and the *Indians* pass whole days in the forests without the least apprehension.

Besides the horned cattle and horses employed in tillage, there is in the christian colonies of *Paraguay*, a number of mules that serve for the  
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carriage of goods from one *Reduccion* to another. For the *Indians* do not only traffic with the *Spaniards*, but the *Reduccion*s trade with one another. All kinds of fruit and grain are not equally the produce of every soil. The inhabitants of a colony give others what they have to spare in one kind or other, and receive in return such other provisions as they want. The prices are fixed, and not to be changed on any account. Thus covetousness has no access to the Neophytes. After the *Reduccion*s are abundantly provided with the natural products of the country, cloths, and other stuffs the manufactures of *Paraguay*, the overplus is sent off to the markets of *Buenos Ayres* and *Santa Fé* as we have remarked above.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The military Government of the Reduccion*s.

**T**H O' peace reigns within the christian *Reduccion*s, and they live in the greatest harmony, without even the least appearance of dissention, it has been found necessary even from their beginning to introduce the military art among the *Indians*. These small Republics have on one side the heathenish nations, that abhor christians, and christianity. If no check was given to their fierce nature, these barbari-



ans, who are enemies to peace and quiet, and accustomed to pursue one another incessantly, with a view to devour their enemies, would soon carry the terrors of war into the center of the christian *Reductions*. Some instances of a fresh date prove sufficiently all that can be apprehended from their cruelty. In 1735, they came pouring down on one of the two small *Reductions* founded in the country of the *Ciriguanes*. The church was burnt down, and the Missionary massacred. Another *Reduction* newly formed on the confines of the Province of *Chiacó*, between the *Lules* and *Mocovies* met with the same fate.

On the other side, the *Mamelusses* of *Brasil* must ever be dreaded by the Neophytes, till the Kings of *Portugal* are pleased to take proper measures, for putting a stop to this terrible evil. We have given elsewhere an account of their horrible ravages in *Paraguay*. I beg leave to insert here another specimen of their cruelty. Tho' it is out of place, I hope the small digression will be forgiven, which is another proof of the undaunted zeal of the Missionaries, who labour and toil in *Paraguay*.

The *Mamelusses*, towards the close of the last century, surprized the *Reduction* called *Jesus* and *Mary* in the Province of *Guaira*, which lies the nearest to *St. Paul*. Upon the first rumour of their arrival, Father *Simon Mazetta* a renowned Missionary, comes out of his house in a surplice and stole, and a crucifix in his hand,

hand, with hopes that men who went still under the name of christians, would at least respect a priest of Jesus Christ. But his hopes deceived him. One of their captains named *Frederic MELLO*, to whom the Jesuit addressed himself first, lifted up his hanger and would infallibly have killed him, had he not luckily avoided the blow.

Almost at the same instant he saw the *Cacique Coruba* murdered by his side. The houses of the Neophytes and the church were to be plundered, and the Neophytes, men, women, and children, were made slaves. As the *Mamelusses* apprehended the christians of the neighbouring *Reductions* coming to assist their brethren, they set out at day break on their return to *St. Paul*, with their captives. The *Reductions* were not then in a condition to undertake the deliverance of their brethren. But Father *Mazetta*, in concert with Father *Francis Diaz*, who came to join him, took a most heroic resolution. And this was to go after their dear Neophytes, and venture all the dangers of this hazardous step. Upon this the two Missionaries set out as soon as they could. What a sight for these tender Pastors to find all along the road, old men, women, and children, some dead with hunger and hardships, others breathing out their last sighs! At length they overtook the main body, and without any regard to their own fatigues and without any respite set about comforting their parishioners, and

and procuring them all the relief, that lay in their power. Neither the outrageous behaviour of the *Mamelusses*, nor the blows laid on, more than once, were able to check their resolution. At last, after a journey of nine hundred miles, they arrived at *St. Paul's*. All their representations were ineffectual, and could not prevent the immediate distribution of the captives, some to till the ground, others for the sugar works, and some to work in the mines.

The Missionaries saw clearly, that they had conceived very vain hopes of finding any redress, or even the shadow of justice, at *St. Paul's*; they set out directly for the Bay of *All Saints* the capital of the *Brasils*, some six hundred miles distant from *St. Paul's*, and presented themselves to *Don Francis Oliveyra*, then captain general of the *Brasils*, and requested of him the deliverance of their Neophytes. The humane Governor gave them letters, with orders to the inhabitants of *St. Paul's* for the restoring the *Indians* of the *Reductions*; and appointed a Commissary to accompany the Fathers in their return, and see that his orders were duly executed. The *Mamelusses* were like to tear the Missionaries in pieces. It was not very long before that Father *James Alfaro* lost his life on the like occasion. At least, threats, and abuses were not spared, and in the night, arrows, and stones were sent in at the windows. At last all the pains of the Missionaries ended  
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in procuring the liberty of some fifty *Indians* out of fifteen thousand and upwards taken away by force from *Paraguay*. Father *Mazetta* and his companion made no long stay at *St. Paul's* but went off with just reasons to think that the *Mamelusses* meditated some new enterprise against the *Reductions*.

To prevent any such fatal accidents for the future, companies of foot, and troops of horse, were formed in every *Reduction*, on the same footing as they are in *Spain*. Their forces have two sorts of arms; first those which have been of old standing among the *Indians*, viz. the bow and arrow headed with bone, or wood as hard as iron, a sling, and a huge club made of very heavy wood, called *Macana*. The Neophytes want no other weapons to oppose the Infidels.

But as the *Mamelusses*, a far more formidable enemy, are armed with pikes, swords, and fire arms; the *Indians* are allowed the same weapons, the better to withstand this dangerous foe. Thus when they are at war with them, the Infantry is armed with pikes, swords, and guns; and the Cavalry with lances and muskets.

The only precaution they use, is to keep the fire arms lockt up in the armouries, and not to let the *Indians* have them but in case of necessity. There are proper officers, who have the charge of the arms, and are to keep them in order.

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The royal *Corregidor* musters the troops of the *Reduccion*, and exercises them every week, on the great place which forms a square, encompassed with buildings all of an equal height, except the side where the church and the house of the Missionary stand.

The *Indians* learn very early the use of the bow and sling. Prizes are given to those who excell most in these exercises. The first horses that the *Indians* saw frightened them so much that they climbed the trees as they would at the sight of lions or tygers. Now the *Indians* sit a horse extremely well, and their cavalry is the terror of all the enemies of the *Reduccion*s.

These forces being raised, not to make any conquests, but only for the defence of the country, great care is taken, that nothing be done which may hinder a good understanding with the Infidels. And this is necessary for the welfare of Religion.

As they found that the *Mamelusses* were constantly on the watch for a favourable opportunity to make new inroads among them, and that they sent out scouts for the discovering of proper roads, that they may arrive with greater security and privacy at the *Reduccion*s, the *Neophytes* are constantly on their guard. All the summer long, men are kept for no other end, than to scour the country. These will go a hundred and fifty, or a hundred and fourcore miles to observe whether any thing is done,  
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that seems to indicate the approach of their enemies, and then come back to make their report. If there appear any just reason to fear, arms are distributed to the troops, and the neighbouring *Reductions* have notice given them of the danger they are threatened with. The forces march soon after towards the enemy, with whom they endeavour to engage in an open country. The *Indians* are invincible, when they can use their horse and fire arms. Besides by going out to meet the enemy, the women and meaner sort of people are freed from those perplexing terrors, which are occasioned by the presence of the enemy. And lastly, for fear the *Mamelusses* and the savage *Indians* should take the advantage of the time when the church service is performing, it has happened sometimes that the christians even when they go to church take their bow and arrows with them.

They never take the field without the permission and blessing of the Missionary. When they have this they make sure of victory. The people of St. Paul's have been taught by more than one defeat to fear and respect them. But the most signal victory which the christians have gained, was some years ago near the *Reduction* of Santa Cruz. The army of the enemy composed of eight hundred *Mamelusses*, and four thousand of their *Indians*, were completely routed. The greatest part lost their lives in the action, the others owed their lives to



to the mercy of the conquerors, who generously allowed them to go back to *Brasil*, and even furnished them with provisions for their journey, after they had taken an oath never more to molest the *Reductions*. These will very likely keep their word, and so much the more, for that the *Reductions* are in a condition to make them repent any such breach of promise.

As to the infidel *Indians*, it is certain they have not sufficient force to resist the christians; and consequently they are very careful, when near the *Reductions*, not to fall out with them. Those who are not disposed to live peaceably, generally retire to a greater distance. There are notwithstanding some Savages scattered about the country, who lie in wait for the travellers in the high roads, or steal their cattle, and kill those that guard them, or carry them off prisoners, if they surprise them alone in the fields.

The *Reductionists* have not only signalized their bravery in their own defence; their important services for the state have gained them the highest commendations from the Kings of *Spain*, and the Governors of the Provinces.

As early as the year 1662, *Don Alphonso Sarmiento*, Governor of the *Assumption*, the capital of *Paraguay*, whilst he was on a progress to inspect his government, took up his quarters in a kind of castle on the road to *Villarica*. He

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saw himself on a sudden invested by a nation of infidels, and the most warlike in those parts. *Don Alphonso* had but a score of soldiers, and very little provision. A *Reduction* in the territory of the *Itatines* was timely informed of the extreme danger the Governor was in. Three hundred men were instantly dispatched; they made forced marches, and in twenty four hours, which on another occasion must have been four days, they came up with, and fell very smartly on, the enemy. The action was obstinately disputed on both sides. Victory at last declared for the christians, who slaughtered a great number of Infidels, put the rest to flight, delivered the Governor, and escorted him safe to the capital. *Sarmiento* from that time could never give over commending the brave *Indians*. *Don Sebastian de Leon* was in the same danger, and in the same manner rescued by the *Reduction* of *St. Ignatius* in the *Parana*.

No action of any importance has happened in *Paraguay* this hundred years, nor has any victory been gained, where they have not only had the greatest share, but have given the strongest proofs of their courage and zeal for the King's service. We must add that the *Indians* have always waged war at their own expence, without any pay, or being indemnified. They thought they were sufficiently paid with the honour of serving his majesty, and were glad that they had it in their power to  
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make this acknowledgement for the privileges he was pleased to grant, as a reward of their zeal and fidelity.

It must be owned however, that in order to succeed in the field they must have *Spanish* officers to head them, as they neither know how to put themselves in order of battle, or how to keep it. Their way is to rush on the enemy all together, with great outcries and howling dreadfully. This might perhaps do, were they only to engage other *Indians*. But they must be more cautious against *Mamelusses* and *Europeans*. They have prudent and experienced officers sent them in time of war, who train them up for some days before they lead them to battle. After this they do wonders, and fight like lions. The *Portuguese* found it so in the year 1680. This event is too glorious to the brave *Indians*, to be passed over in silence.

The *Portuguese* in the year 1679, under the conduct of *Don Emanuel de Lobos*, had seized the post where the colony of the B. Sacrament is at present. The river *La Plata* forms here a port capable of harbouring a great number of ships and sheltered from contrary winds by the Island of *St. Gabriel*, which stands over against this harbour. While *D. Joseph de Barro*, Governor of *Buenos Ayres*, kept dispatching expresses one after another to *Lobos*, to be informed directly by him what the *Portuguese* meant, the latter had all the leisure



they wanted, to raise a fort well provided with artillery and to hold out a long siege.

*Barro*, though some thing too late, found he had been duped, and resolved to be even with *Lobos*. The *Corregidores* of the *Reduções* had orders to raise immediately an army of *Indians*. In eleven days three thousand three hundred *Indians* well equipt were ready to march. They brought with them four thousand horses, four hundred mules, and two hundred oxen, to draw the artillery. This small army in a short time came six hundred miles, which is reckoned to be the distance from the *Reduccion* to *Buenos Ayres*.

The *Indians* made no doubt of meeting an army of *Spaniards*, who would find their account in the four thousand horses they brought. But all the Governor's forces amounted only to three hundred, including the *Spanish* foot, *Negroes*, and *Mulattos*, that joined the *Indians*. To complete their distress, there were but two hundred muskets, and some broad swords, to distribute among them. The *Indians* were only armed with their slings, bows and arrows, and their clubs. The *Indian* militia was not then upon the footing it is at present.

But however the siege of the fort built by the *Portuguese* was resolved on; and the Governor nominated *D. Joseph de Vere* to command the siege. This general, being determined to storm the fort, drew up his forces in a very singular manner. The four thousand  
horses

horses without riders formed the van. The *Indians* came next led up by *Spanish* Officers. The three hundred regular foot made up the rear. D. *Josepb* imagined that the horses would serve as a rampart to his forces, and that after the first discharge of the artillery against the van, the *Indian* militia might easily scale the work, and get possession of the *Terre-plain*.

This order of battle could only end in the defeat of his army. The *Indians* saw the danger; they halted, and represented to the General, that the horses frightened by the fire and noise of the Cannon would certainly fall back on the troops, and would throw them into disorder and confusion, and that taking this way to work would be only yielding the victory to the enemies.

D. *Josepb* approved of their opinion, and ordered the horses to be withdrawn, and set aside. Then the *Indians* resumed their march, and arrived under the walls of the fortress with surprising silence and order. He had forbid any of the soldiers stirring, till the firing off a pistol gave notice for the assault to be made on the place. Mean while an *Indian* had the courage to scale the walls and get up to the platform; and finding the centry asleep, he cut off his head, and was about doing as much for the rest, when he was fired upon. The *Indians* taking this to be the signal agreed on, scrambled up all of them with the greatest intrepidity to

the *terre-plain*, and helped the *Spaniards* to come up after them. The *Portuguese* made a stout resistance for several hours, animated by the example of D. *Emanuel Galban* their Commander. This brave officer performed prodigies of valour; but at length overpowered by numbers, and covered over with wounds, he fell down dead on the walls of the place. They saw with wonder and surprize his Lady fighting sword in hand by his side. It was to no purpose for the *Spaniards* to offer an honourable retreat to this Heroine; she would hearken to no terms, but was wholly actuated by her affection to her husband, and fought to the last breath. The besieged seeing the fort covered with the dead, or the dying, begged quarter. But as the *Indians* did not understand *Portuguese*, and thought they were engaged with the *Mamelusses* of *Brasil*, did not give over slaying the enemies, till they received orders from the *Spanish* chiefs. On the side of the victors in this memorable action no one gave more signal proofs than the *Cacique Don Ignatius Landau*. He saw his men disposed to lose ground at the beginning of the engagement, and restored them to their former intrepidity much more by his example than his words. The military stores, fortifications, and slaves were seized for the King. The rest of the booty was assigned by sound of trumpet to the *Indians* as a reward of their bravery. These good people fell on the provisions they found



in the place, and took the knives, scissors, and other trifles, and the cloaths of the slain ; while the *Spaniards* carried off at their ease the silver, gold, jewels, and what was most valuable. Two hundred *Portuguese* lost their lives in the action ; the rest were made prisoners with their General D. *Emanuel Lobos*. On the victorious side, six *Spaniards* only and thirty *Indians* were killed. The wounded were in greater number. Four Missionaries at the Governor's request accompanied the *Indians* in this dangerous expedition. During the battle they were taken up with hearing the confessions of those who were dying, and afterwards gave all their attendance promiscuously to the wounded on both sides. This victory raised the reputation of the *Indians* to a high degree. The Vice-roy of *Peru*, and the Governors of the provinces and towns, thought they were obliged to write to the court of *Madrid* on this important event. At the same time they insinuated how necessary it was to send to, and to maintain Jesuit Missionaries in those parts ; that nothing could be of greater service to the Monarchy, than to second the zeal of these fathers in establishing new *Reductions*, and that all their enterprises were both a credit to Religion and an advantage to the State. Many other memorable exploits are related of these good *Indians*, whom nothing can withstand, when they are to fight for the interest of a Prince to whom they have chosen to be subject. In 1735 four thousand

marched again to serve his catholic Majesty against the *Portuguese*. Six thousand more undertook a long journey to escort the new Governor the court had sent to the city of the *Assumption*, at that time greatly disturbed with intestine dissensions, but which do not come within my subject. It shall suffice to observe that the presence of the *Indians* enabled the Governor to restore peace and tranquility with much less difficulty.

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## C H A P. XIX.

*The love and respect the Indians have for their Missionaries.*

**T**HAT one may form a just idea of the respect and love the Neophytes bear to their Missionaries, it would be necessary to have made some stay in *Paraguay*. And indeed it is hard to determine whether these sentiments are a greater honour to those who have them, or to the objects of their affection and veneration. The servants of God could never have gained the hearts of the *Indians*, if the example of the greatest virtues united in their persons had not recommended them, and the lustre of a thousand heroic actions had not raised a general admiration. And the *Indians* on their side could not have that great affection for their Missionaries without a heart, that can be moved, and is naturally disposed to be grateful.

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From the time the *Indians* hear, that a fresh supply of Missionaries is arrived from *Europe*, the contention is, and it is carried on with great earnestness and zeal, who shall have the honour of going to receive them at *Buenos Ayres*, and of escorting them to their respective destinations. One cannot express the joy and respect they shew at their first arrival into the *Reductions*, nor their readiness and humility in submitting to the penalties imposed on them, when they have committed any considerable faults. On these occasions the *Caciques* and captains of the Nation are the readiest in setting examples of submission to the rest.

Some years ago a troop of Savages formed a design against the life of Father *Anthony Ruiz*. These barbarians proposed to make a delicious meal of his body: for, said they, it must be exquisitely nice, as the Jesuits use salt in *Paraguay*, as well as in *Europe*; whereas the *Indians* eat their meat without this kind of seasoning.

Upon this the Savages took the opportunity of a dark night, and came into the *Reduction* where Father *Ruiz* was, and sought for him every where. A Neophyte, who discovered them and their design, ran in all haste to the Missionary's, and taking his cloak and broad brimmed hat went to shew himself in this attire to the barbarians, with this persuasion that they would take him for F. *Ruiz*, and that by their discharging their fury against him, the Missionary would escape their hands. In reality, as soon



as the *Indian* appeared, the Savages let fly a shower of arrows against him. But by a kind of miracle not one hit him, and God did not permit the generous Neophyte to fall a victim of his zeal and charity. In the mean time the other Neophytes having notice of what was doing, came armed out of their houses, and instantly dispersed the enemy. This instance alone suffices to shew, how much the Missionaries are beloved by their Neophytes. Many more examples of this nature can be produced.

But this affectionate love after all has nothing that is surprising, when one considers the motives, on which it is grounded. Every *Indian*, let him reason never so little, is very sensible of the wretched former condition of his forefathers, and perhaps of his own, when he led the life of a brute in the woods. He has constantly before him too lively a representation of that animal life in those *Indians*, whom, as yet, they have not been able to draw from their barbarity and infidelity. He knows, that if he enjoys the advantages of civil society, that if he has renounced these shocking meals, where the flesh of his fellow creature was the favourite dish, in fine, that, if he spends his days in peace and content, he owes these blessings to the care of the Missionaries. But however great these may be thought, there is another infinitely superiour and of greater power to make the *Indians* acknowledge their obligations to the Missionaries, I mean the knowledge of the  
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true God, and the happiness of living in the true and holy Religion, out of which no one can be saved. These new christians look on their Pastors, as the instruments which the Almighty has employed to make them happy in this life, and to direct them to the possession of their chief happiness in God.

A good capacity, regularity of manners, and a most exemplary life, are the valuable advantages, that distinguish the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in all parts. They find means to preserve these treasures amidst the pleasures and the corruption of *Mexico* and *Peru*. And the world is unanimous in giving them the same testimony on this head. The care they take in *Paraguay* more perhaps than elsewhere, to do nothing that may disedify their converts, increases their veneration for them. The people have always their eye open to observe their behaviour; and as mankind is ever ready to take offence at the least failing, on the contrary whatever they find is virtuous and edifying in these fervent religious men, makes the deepest impression in their favour. While an *Indian* sees them so devout and recollected at the altar, so patient in their labours and fatigues, and in the troublesome tediousness which is inseparable from their ministry; so retired, and never seen out of their church or house, unless to administer the Sacraments, or to visit the sick, and which they never do without being accompanied by the Infirmarians, or those, who take care  
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of the sick, and are constant witnesses to all their actions; lastly, so assiduous about persons departing from this life; he imagines, that he sees angels come from heaven.

Another prevailing motive to gain the affections of the *Indians*, is the daily and earnest endeavours of the Missionaries to make life still more easy and agreeable to their Neophytes. So many arts as they have taught them by their own practising the meanest and most toilsome trades, by undertaking the hardest work to inspire the Indians with a love of industry, are proofs not at all equivocal of charity. In a word every one is amazed with their indefatigable care to prevent any innovations, which the *Spaniards* would introduce, and which have a tendency to restrain their liberty, or lessen the privileges granted to the *Reductions*.

The very Infidels are sensible of the care of the Missionaries, who come in search of them through a thousand dangers, and make no difficulty to own, that it is not a temporal interest that brings the preachers of the gospel into their forests in quest of them, but merely the desire of procuring their happiness.

We have the memoirs of a *Spanish* Canon, or Prebendary, who lived a long time in the *Reductions*. I have extracted thence several particulars for the composing of this relation. This ecclesiastic had been for some years an eye witness and admirer of the apostolic labours of Father *Francis Diaz*, and of the innumerable conversions



conversions which he wrought. The Canon says, that this zealous Missionary made an excursion one day to some rows of huts adjacent to his *Reduction*, where Infidels lived, and who at that time were visited by a contagious distemper, with a design of gaining over to God their unhappy souls, as it really happened afterwards. Some savage nations that chanced to be in the neighbourhood had a mind to take the advantage of their melancholy situation, and having made their way thither merely to be glutted with human flesh and blood, they slaughtered those that were not infected, cut them in pieces, and intended the same treatment for *F. Diaz*. An *Indian*, who found means to escape, brought news of what was doing to the *Reduction* of *St. Francis Xavier*, and informed them of their designs. *F. Francis Diaz* was their parish-priest. The Neophytes immediately took up arms and flew to the assistance of their Missionary. Though the place was at a great distance, they came up very soon with the Infidels, and without loss of time attacked them with such bravery, that they made many prisoners. The rest sought their safety in a speedy flight. The victors, to be revenged of these barbarians, and to deter all others from such attempts, were for hanging up their prisoners, and would leave them hanging on the trees. They were upon the point of executing their design, when *F. Diaz* came and interceded for these unfortunate creatures, and obtained by  
many

many intreaties that they should be given up to him. He treated them with all possible kindness, and after he had instructed them in our holy Religion, he set them at liberty. The Infidels were so struck, when they saw so much tenderness and generosity in the person they intended to treat as their most implacable enemy, that after they got home they became themselves zealous preachers of the gospel. They came soon after with their whole nation to throw themselves at Father *Diaz's* feet, and to beg most earnestly that he would admit them to baptism; that they were determined to live under his direction, and to embrace the faith of Christ. They accordingly received holy baptism after they had gone through proper trials, and lived after, like good and fervent christians.

Thus true charity triumphs over all hearts. The violence and tyranny that is used to subdue the *Indians* by some, who trample on divine law, and the wise ordinances of their Catholic Majesties, serve only to alienate Infidels, and to give them the greater horror of christianity. These measures have more than once made religion lose conquests, that seemed absolutely certain.

When the Jesuit Missionaries penetrated first into the vast Province of *Chiaco*, situated betwixt the river *Salado*, *Virmiglio*, and the *Rio Grande*, they succeeded so far as to found some *Reductions*. Many of them ended their days afterwards

afterwards by dying glorious martyrs, which happened upon an occasion I am going to relate. A few *Spaniards* from interested views, undertook the setting up of *Commanderies* in this Province, under the specious pretext of establishing the power of the King of *Spain* on a more solid foundation. They soon began to oppress the *Indians*, and to harass them every way. What was the consequence? The Neophytes rebelled and revolted from their religion and the King of *Spain*. They retired into the heart of the Country to live at liberty, as they did before amongst the Savages. They conceived such an aversion to christian religion, and those who professed it, that from that time they could never be brought to that double obedience which they had renounced. Within these few years the hopes of bringing them again to embrace christianity were renewed. The Missionaries have even formed already two or three small Colonies of Neophytes in those quarters.

The same disorder and confusion was seen some years ago in that immense tract of *South America* called *Magellanica*. Father *Nicolas Mascardi*, an *Italian* Jesuit, and a fervent Missionary, who died afterwards a martyr of the faith he preached, had begun the conversion of the people, who inhabit those parts. Some *Spanish* officers took it into their thoughts, that it would be better to conquer the Nation by force of arms, than to gain them by lenity, and



and more to the purpose to make slaves, than christians. The *Indians* full of indignation to find that they were used like enemies contrary to their expectation, renounced christianity, massacred their Missionary, and retired into their woods and caverns at a greater distance than ever.

It must be owned, and is confessed by *Francis Coreal* in his voyages, though he appear in other respects extremely adverse to the Jesuits, that these Fathers of all persons are the most proper to spread the catholic faith among infidel nations. Nothing comes up to their patience, their prudence, their address, in gaining, civilizing, and governing the savage people of *America*. The following instance will stand as a farther proof of what I advance.

Some Nations that live along the banks of the river *Monday*, which falls into the *Parana*, shewed an inclination to receive baptism, and sent a deputation to D. *Faustino de las Casas* a religious of the order of Mercy, or redemption of captives, and Bishop of the *Assumption*, to beg he would send Missionaries into their parts. The Prelate was a person, who meant very well, but laboured under some degree of prevention against the Jesuits; he granted two or three very virtuous priests to these Infidels, and they at first succeeded very well among the *Indians*. But they soon found that their flock began to disperse and their hopes vanish. The Prelate more jealous of his conquest than ever, sent off the

the Dean of his chapter to those barbarians, The Dean was the most able, exemplary, and disinterested person of his clergy; he succeeded no better than the first, and could not fix the inconstancy of the *Indians*.

Upon this the Bishop had recourse to the Provincial of the Jesuits, and begged that he would engage some of his subjects to undertake a commission of this great importance, and which was attended with so many difficulties. The Prelate said in his letter to the provincial, that the Fathers of the Society being called in an especial manner by the divine Majesty to the propagation of the christian faith, and particularly chosen of the almighty, were also gifted with a particular grace to succeed in such enterprises, as it evidently appeared by so many nations they had brought together, and united under the laws of the gospel.

The Provincial, to second the views of the Prelate, made choice of two of his subjects, whom a long experience had taught the most proper means to prevail with infidel nations. These Missionaries instead of making a long stay among the *Indian* neighbours of the *Assumption*, carried the light of the gospel into the inmost recesses of the most distant forests, and were soon in a condition to found a *Reduction* that consisted of two or three thousand souls. This settlement gathered daily more and more strength, and opened the way for the conversion of the other Infidels who seemed at first to have been neglected.

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sings on the pains taken by these unwearied labourers in their new missions. Religion gains ground daily in the large Province of *Chiacó*, and among the *Chiquitos* and *Chiriguanes*. The fierceness of the latter caused the *Spaniards* to look upon them as a Nation never to be tamed; and even to this present time no perfect account could be had of their Country, by reason of the frightful mountains, and impenetrable forests that cover it. But the College which the Jesuits have lately built at *Tarica* is of great service to make the conversion of the *Chiriguanes* easier; and there are flattering hopes that in time they will submit to the yoke of the gospel.

From the close of the last century they reckoned in the Country of the *Moxos* eight or nine christian Colonies, and above thirty thousand baptised *Indians*. These Nations situated under the tenth degree of southern latitude, in the neighbourhood of the river *Guapai*, border upon other Nations, whose names are scarce known. The last are still in the darkness of Idolatry; but it is very probable that they would open their eyes to the light of the gospel, if the Society of Jesus had a sufficiency of Missionaries to supply so many different parts of the new world. Nothing seems impossible to their zeal and charity.

Father *Cyprian Baraze* was the first, who took in hand the conversion of the *Moxos* about the year 1675. To bring the *Moxos* under the obedience of Jesus Christ required his invincible courage and patience. He himself drove from

*Lima*



*Lima* to this new mission a numerous herd of horned Cattle, which being greatly multiplied since, has proved of great service to the Country. He also discovered after many attempts a much shorter passage by the *Cordillera* mountains to the city of *Lima*. In fine he founded by himself the three *Reductions* of our Lady of *Loretto*, of the B. Trinity, and St. *Francis Xavier*. After he had opened so promising and so ample a field for the zeal of other evangelical labourers, many came in, to enlarge and to secure the kingdom of God in those parts. This mission is at this time the most flourishing in *South America*.

Father *Cyprian Baraze* not satisfied with all this success, went over to other nations to preach the gospel, and reached the Country of the *Baures*, who at first seemed to relish his instructions; but this appearance of docility did not continue long. The Missionary was massacred by this perfidious people the sixteenth of *September*, 1702, and thus put a glorious period to his life, which for the space of twenty-seven years he had adorned with a continued series of truly apostolical labours.

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C H A P. XX.

*The Persecutions raised through Envy against the Missionaries in Paraguay.*

THE credit of the Missionaries would not be complete, if after so many labours

in behalf of christian religion, they were not exposed to the darts of envy, that hideous monster, which delights in shedding its poison upon the brightest virtues, whereof the Missionaries of the society of Jesus have had but too much experience. Hence to finish their *Eulogium*, and complete this work, an account must be given of the hardships they have suffered, not only from heathens, and Savages, but from certain persons, who call themselves catholics, but have no other God besides Interest.

In effect, who are the authors of so many calumnious imputations, by which attempts have been made to defame the Missionaries? Who are they, I say, but those base slaves of cupidity, and who have been mentioned here more than once? They only think of acquiring riches by all sorts of means. If they wish the conversion of the *Indians*, it is not that they desire to see great numbers of children added to the church, or to the subjects of his catholic majesty; all they hope for is to have a great number of slaves. The zeal of the Missionaries is an invincible obstacle to the execution of their iniquitous designs. Upon this account they would if possible exterminate them all, or ruin them at least in the opinion and confidence of his catholic majesty, and of his ministers, which these zealous servants of the church and the state have so justly deserved: in a word they would have the care of the Missions taken from them. To this effect

effect for more than a century they have not only made *Mexico* and *Peru*, but *Spain*, and even all *Europe*, ring with their clamours, saying that if the Jesuits have founded so many *Reductions* in *Paraguay*, it was out of interested and ambitious views.

To hear them talk, “ These religious men have made themselves petty princes. They almost engross all the commerce of *Paraguay*, they and their friends have the whole profit. They are so wealthy and powerful, that in a few years they will be able to invade *America*. As they can give liberally, they know how to have the Governors at their devotion. They have often procured officers, that did not please them, to be dismissed from their posts. They persuade the *Indians*, that to please God, they must consecrate all that is most precious to the service of the altar ; that they must generously lay at the feet of the sacred ministers the first fruits, or rather the best part of the products of the earth. They add that whenever the *Indians* go a hunting, it is for the Missionaries, and that the herb of *Paraguay* is gathered for them only, and the value of it amounts to several millions ; and what is much more, that they receive all the gold that is found mixed with sand in the rivers, or taken out of the mines of *Calchacos* and *Uraguay*.”

This is an abstract of the defamatory reports spread about the world, either by word of mouth, or printed libels, against the Missionaries  
of



of *Paraguay*. Thus *Coreal* represents matters in his travels. But before we proceed farther, it is convenient to observe, that this traveller by his own confession never went farther than *Buenos Ayres*; that the name *Coreal* is a borrowed name, and a disguise put on by the author, a common shift in use with dealers in calumny and imposture; lastly neither he, nor any such as himself, have alledged, as yet, any particular fact against the persons whom they decry, or when they have, the fact has rested on no other evidence than their bare word. Let all men of sense judge, whether this be a sufficient proof, when such heinous imputations as those charged against the Jesuits in *Paraguay* are the matter in debate. Not to copy after these rash persons, I will advance nothing without clear proofs.

I am not afraid of affirming with regard to the missions of *Paraguay*, (the only missions that I can give an account of, and of which I have certain informations,) that all the imputations I have summed up are mere calumnies, and detestable forgeries, suggested by envy and malice. What has been said of the method of Government in the *Reductions*, is enough to confute all the clamours of the enemies of the society of Jesus, and to disperse the phantom of sovereignty ascribed to the Missionaries. The royal *Corregidor*, as I have already said, and now repeat it, administers justice in the King's name in every *Reduction*.

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All the *Indians* depend on the governors of the Provinces nominated by the King. These two points are more than certain.

The Missionaries of *Paraguay* are only on the footing of curates, or parish Priests. Properly speaking they have no more authority, than parish Priests in the towns and villages in *Europe*. Can the docility of the *Indians* with any justice be imputed as a crime to their teachers? To change the hearts of barbarians, and make mildness and charity succeed to their former ferocity, to inspire the love of christian virtues, to maintain these happy dispositions in them for a whole century, and in so many different places; is this the work of worldly ambition, or of the most edifying and irreproachable zeal? This can be no problem to any one, that has the least knowledge of mankind.

As to the interested views fathered on the Missionaries, it is evident that the *Indians* pay them no tribute, nor tythes, nor first fruits. His catholic majesty allows every year a considerable sum for maintaining the Missionaries. The sum is paid into the hands of the superior of the Missions, who provides the Missionaries with all they want. This is the whole of their revenue. They receive now and then some charities from the more wealthy and virtuous *Spaniards*, and chiefly when a new *Reduction* is to be made. These alms are laid out for the

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the relief of the indigent *Indians*, or to facilitate the conversion of savages.

The Missionaries are maintained, as if they lived in colleges. They cannot dispose of the least thing without leave from their superiors. After they have taken out of the allowance what suffices for their subsistence, the remainder goes to make the poverty of the *Indians* a lighter burthen. The faithful pay no surplice fees, and give nothing at christenings, marriages, or burials. The superior of the Missions not only provides all that can be wanted, but also sends several bagatelles, which are known to be very agreeable to the *Indians*, such as needles, scissors, knives, fish-hooks, medals, pictures of devotion, &c. The Missionaries would not enjoy the liberty they have in the exercises of their ministry, if they seemed to be in expectation of any advantage from the *Indians*. They would sooner or later have perceived, that the Missionaries were in hopes of being benefited by them, and would have shewn much less regard for religion and its ministers.

Some would fain make the world believe, that the *Indians* bring quantities of gold. But this is another manifest imposture. There is not any mine of any metal in all the Provinces comprehended under the name of *Paraguay*. There is no end nor measure of the dreams that take their birth from the avidity of the *Europeans* with regard to these extended Tracts. If they see a mountain, they imagine-



mediately conceit it full of gold. A long list of all the mines in *Paraguay* is to be seen in *Coreál*; but no one has yet got a single grain of the metal so much desired from these mines, to this day. Consult the work called *a relation of Guiana*. No one has ever penetrated into this barbarous country; those who have come the nearest, or who have been on the coast, have only seen some savages dispersed here and there among the woods. The author of the relation just cited, will shew you their houses and palaces filled with gold and silver vases.

If gold mines were discovered in *Paraguay*, there would be an end of that felicity of the *Indians*, on which I have dwelt so long. Nothing could stop the *Spaniards*, they would speed their way to these springs of wealth and opulence, and cloaking their own interest under the fair title of the interest of the state, they would ravage and lay waste all the christian settlements, which hitherto have had poverty for their strongest bulwark.

As to the herb of *Paraguay*; here is what may be depended on as certain and out of dispute. The *Indians* are allowed to bring every year to *Buenos Ayres*, or *Santa Fé*, twelve thousand *Arrobes* of this herb, worth at the current price four *Piasters* an *Arrobe*, that is a quarter of a hundred. So that if the *Indians* would make the most of their permission, they could only receive 48000 *Piasters* (not 12000 sterling) from this branch of their commerce.

Now

Now it is certain, that the *Indians* have scarce brought in yearly 6000 *Arrobes* of this herb, the value of which is at most but 24000 *Pistars*, which beyond all doubt is not enough to discharge the yearly tribute to the King. But perhaps the *Indians* have another mart for this herb? Let us know, where they have been known to vend this commodity, and to whom such quantities have been delivered for so many years. For if such facts are advanced without any proof, it betrays an unbounded desire of mischief; and is more a means to blacken oneself, than an adversary.

And therefore it is no wonder, that all these accusations, laid so often before the court of *Madrid*, have always been without effect. The piety of the Kings of *Spain* was not to be surprised. And yet these accusations, so often proved to be false, have incessantly been renewed, and presented in other shapes; because there has always been a number of persons who sought to be rich and have a number of slaves, whatever it cost them. The Missionaries have constantly opposed all that offered to break in upon the liberty, or strike off the privileges, of their beloved Neophytes. And in this they are warranted by the ordinances of the catholic Kings, which forbid any *Indian* being made a slave. The Missionaries have hitherto prevented the establishing *Commanderies* in *Paraguay*, like those in *Tucuman* and other parts. The court of *Spain*, in consideration of their pressing instances,

instances, would never impose this intolerable yoke on the *Indians*, who by their own choice became subject to *Spain*, and to the holy laws of the gospel. Tho' this indulgent behaviour of the sovereign is very equitable, it is not at all relished by men, who pass into *America* with the prospect of great fortune, which they hope to raise in a short time. They have raised the greatest storms against the Missionaries, and have set every engine at work, to get them expelled from the *Reductions*; knowing full well, that if the shepherds are once dispersed, it will be an easy matter to enter the sheepfold, and commit all manner of outrages, without any danger of opposition from any person to their tyranny.

But all these calumnies have only served to place the irreproachable conduct of the Missionaries in a stronger light. They have often earnestly intreated the Governors and Bishops to visit the *Reductions*. These have yielded to their intreaties; they have gone through a regular course of law to examine the accusations brought against the Fathers, and they have found every thing turned out contrary to the information laid against them by ill minded persons. The authentic instruments of all these inquiries, made at the request of the Missionaries themselves, are extant in the courts of *Buenos Ayres*, and the *Assumption*. All *Spain* has seen faithful copies of these deeds; and the letters wrote by the Prelates, and principal

*Spanish*



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*Spanish* Officers of the crown in *America*, in commendation of the Missionaries, and the wise government they have established in the *Reductions*. Whoever is not blinded with passion must own, that they have done the greatest and most important services to the church and the crown. However they have never been able to procure for themselves the tranquility and quiet, which they have procured for so many nations. If they have had some little respite, it was only a short lived truce. Another new storm has been lately raised against them, of which I think it my duty to give an account, as I have had an opportunity of being thoroughly informed of the affair.

In the year 1735 the Jesuits of *Paraguay* had intelligence of an information sent to the court of *Spain* in 1730 by *D. Martin de Barua*, Governour of that Province. Several copies were handed about at *Buenos Ayres*, and very likely in *Spain*. The substance of this information was, that indeed the *Indians* said they were subjects of the *Spanish* monarchy, but that they were of no advantage to the King; that the crown spent more upon them than it received from them; that hereafter a more considerable tribute should be exacted, and that they should be put under *Spanish* *Corregiders*, and that a free trade should again be opened between the *Indian* and *Spanish* towns.

*Barua* hated the Jesuits too much not to take this occasion of painting them in the blackest

blackest colours. The Missionaries perceiving, that the Governor intended to introduce innovations very prejudicial to the *Indians*, and quite contrary to the well known intentions of his majesty, opposed these measures all they could. *Barua*, enraged at their opposition, expelled them twice by force from their college; but they were always reinstated by the express orders of his catholic Majesty. The information was fraught with heaps of base calumnies against those Fathers. Among many other things it was said, that they had more authority in *Paraguay*, than the King himself. And lastly the coarse impostures that *Coreal* had stuffed his voyages with thirty years before, were repeated word by word.

The mine was discovered in the manner we have mentioned, and F. *James d' Aguilar*, Provincial of the Jesuits in *Paraguay*, drew up immediately an excellent memorial, which he sent to his catholic Majesty in opposition to *Barua's*. He refuted all his calumnious imputations without leaving his adversary any possibility of making a reply. The whole strength of his argument was directed to show how irreproachable the Missionaries conduct had been hitherto, and how void of sense the advice was, which *Barua* gave to the court. He demonstrated by authenticated facts, that if the Governor's advice was followed, the only effect it could have would be to make the conversion of the *Indians* impossible, and to drive those  
back

back into infidelity whom they had brought over to the christian religion. I have by me a copy of this memorial, for which I am obliged to the generosity of the prince *Cajetan Buon Compagno* Duke of *Sora*, Lord steward of the household to his majesty of the two *Sicilies*. This nobleman was embassador from the King his master to the catholic King, when this affair broke out: As he was thoroughly convinced, that the accusations laid against the Jesuits were false, he made use of all his credit to hinder the Missions of *Paraguay* being disturbed.

The Governour's information contained palpable contradictions, which *F. d'Aguiar* took up with great strength of reason. Here *Barua* pretended, that the *Indians* paid no tribute, there he allowed that they did, but that the tribute was not proportionable to the number of inhabitants. These propositions were demonstrated to be false by the memorial: for it was certain that the payment was regularly made every year since 1666, the year, when that tribute was first imposed. *Barua's* ignorance in this point was inexcusable, and perhaps much more for not knowing the privileges granted the *Indians* so often confirmed by the catholic Kings. Privileges by which the women in general, and the men under twenty, and those past fifty, with such as are lately become christians, are exempted from paying the tribute. It must not be forgot that the *Indians* are to pay it in ready coin. As they have neither gold  
nor



nor silver, nor any money, they are forced to bring their goods to the *Spanish* towns, distant above six hundred miles, to get by the sale enough to satisfy the King's demands. These long journies are very expensive; the catholic Kings have thought them a very considerable article and they deserved some attention from the Governour.

*Barua* will have the tribute doubled; the *Indians* must pay two *Piasters* instead of one; they must have *Spanish Corregidors*, like the other *Indians* subjects to the *Spanish* monarchy. But it is answered, that a wide difference ought to be made betwixt *Indians* subdued by force of arms, and *Indians* of the *Reductions*, who have of their own free choice embraced christianity, by the diligence and care of the Jesuit Missionaries. These *Indians* have freely submitted to the Kings of *Spain*, on condition, to pay no more than the tribute of one *Piafter*, to have liberty to chuse their own officers themselves, and to have the government vested in the *Reductions*, like so many little republics, under the protection of the Kings of *Spain*. Hence it would be unjust to alter their form of government, and to increase their burthens, and more particularly, for that the *Indians* are obliged to serve the King in time of war, to work at the fortifications of the *Spanish* towns, and when thus employed they bear their own expences without any charge to the King for their support. This very article suffices to shew in the most sensible manner, the falsehood advanced

advanced by the Governour, where he says, the *Indians* own no other masters, but the Provincial of the Jesuits, and the Missionaries.

Who can in reality be ignorant of their readiness to obey the viceroys, the Governours of Provinces, the Bishops, and all the King's officers? " Upon the least sign made by your Majesty's Governours, says Father *d'Agui-lar*, they with the greatest eagerness leave the country, to the number of five or six thousand; without any delay they go from home, from their wives and families. They themselves find the necessary arms, if they have horses they bring them, if not, they go on foot six or nine hundred miles, to work, to fight, and if necessary, to die in your Majesty's service. The *Indians* on these occasions receive no allowance or pay. Where is the vassal on earth, that serves his Lord in this manner? How then dare they say, that the *Indians* own no other masters but the Provincials, and their Jesuit parish-Priests?

" The Governours of the Provinces visit the *Reductions* from time to time, and always find the most perfect submission to their orders. The officers of these diminutive Republics go every year and present themselves to the same Governours to obtain their being confirmed in their respective offices. Hence the reason which makes some *Spaniards* so averse to the *Indians* is  
" this

“ this ; they would have them not only subject  
“ to your majesty, but to every *Spaniard*, even  
“ to the servants and slaves of the *Spaniards*.  
“ When a *Spaniard*, a *Creole*, a *Mestizo*, \* or  
“ less than that, sees an *Indian* who does not  
“ cringe before him, or blindly humour all his  
“ fancies, he declaims against the poor *Indian*,  
“ calls him a barbarian, a clown, that carries  
“ insolence so far as to be wanting in the respect  
“ due to a *Spaniard*, and is no subject to the  
“ King, and owns no authority but that of his  
“ parish Priest.”

*Barua* indeed allows, that putting a *Spanish* *Corregidor* over the *Indians*, would be running the hazard of an insurrection. But he adds with a matchless assurance, that the Missionaries dispose the *Indians* to revolt. But can he persuade any person, that such wise and religious men are capable of betraying thus the cause of their God, and their King? Can any one believe that they can come to this excess of wickedness, that to satisfy their resentment they would be easy and content to see their spiritual children return to their woods, and to their former barbarity and infidelity?

Father *d'Aguilar* owns, that were an attempt made to change the government, the taking of such a step would probably, and very soon, be followed by a revolt. There have been but too

\* *The breed of Spaniards or Europeans with original Americans.*



many instances of emotions and troubles caused by innovations of this nature, in the towns of the *Assumption*, *Villa-rica*, *Corrientes*, *Santa Fé*, and a thousand other places. From the time that the *Spaniards* were for overcharging the new christians, they saw them disperse, and become their most implacable enemies; they saw their own towns either plundered and destroyed, or in a manner blocked up, for years together. All roads were infested, and an infinity of travellers murdered. And this points out the true reason why such an extent of country even in the neighbourhood of the *Spanish* towns is at present uncultivated; and indeed they scarce dare to stir out of the towns.

*Barua* was of opinion, that the *Indians* of the *Reductions* should be brought nearer to the towns, for that in case of a revolt they might be easier quelled. The stupidity of this advice appears immediately. The instances now made, and others very recent, shew what success may be expected from such attempts. If the *Spaniards* could never subdue by force of arms so many extended Countries inhabited by barbarians in the *Paraguay*, nor bring the rebellious *Indians* to reason; if the *Spanish* troops march but very unwillingly against the Infidels, because they find that they have not sufficient forces to conquer the enemy; if in fine they have more than once repented that they have attacked them; what must the consequence be, were all the *Reductions* to set up the standard of rebellion, and in conjunction  
with

with the Infidels to bring their whole force against that handful of *Spaniards* which could be brought against them?

Will they pretend that the Missionaries have ever been concerned in the commotions that have happened hitherto? But is it not well known, that on these occasions, the Missionaries have been the first victims of the enraged *Indians*? The massacre of their Missionaries has always been the first step those people, if they deserve that name, have taken to their revolt.

*Barua* further insisted, that a free trade might be opened between the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*; that the *Indians* should be allowed to sell the produce of their country, and their manufactures, to whom, and where they pleased. For the *Indians* have been this long time accustomed to send off to the *Spanish* settlements, the overplus of their cloths, tobacco, herb of *Paraguay*, hides, and skins, &c. after they are provided with what they may want. All these effects are consigned to the procurator general of the Jesuit Missionaries. They are sold or bartered to the best advantage; and afterwards the whole is exactly accounted for to the *Reductions*, deducting first on the produce of the goods the tribute payable to the King; the remainder goes to purchase what he knows to be necessary and useful for the *Indians*, without reserving the least thing for his own use.

'Tis seen immediately, that the quantity of the goods they trade in with the towns, and the

use that is made of the money arising from the sale, are not objects, that can easily escape the vigilance and zeal of the King's officers. And 'tis impossible they should not know what they carry home, as well as what they have brought to market.

In other respects, the excessive simplicity of the *Indians* cannot admit of allowing any contract to be made by them without the approbation of the Procurators general. When left to themselves, "they have been a hundred and a hundred times tricked by the *Spaniards*, who dealing with poor people, unacquainted with the value of their goods, have given them only a *Piaster*, and often much less, for what was worth ten or twelve.

The *Spaniards* would be extremely pleased with the liberty of frequenting the *Reductions*; they would carry thither trifles of no value, glass beads, or such like things, which they themselves call *baits*. The immense profits the *Europeans* get by these bagatelles among the barbarous nations of *Asia*, *Africa*, and even of *America*, is well known. If no opposition was made to the enterprises of some *Spaniards*, the *Indians* would be soon fleeced in the same manner. "It has happened too often, says F. d' Aguilar, that the *Indians* have stolen horses and mules, even those that belonged to the public stock, or to the church, to exchange them for trifles that a *Spaniard* has let them see. Now this is the unjust



unjust and dangerous trade which the Missionaries desired to prevent, as fathers and guardians of the people entrusted to their care; and they believe that your Majesty's intention is the same. Those who would have the commerce of the *Indians* upon another footing than it is at present, are every one of them persons who, without any scruple, would take an uncharitable advantage of their simplicity to cheat the *Indians*, and who look on what belongs to these poor people as derelict goods, which every *Spaniard* has a right to seize on.

“ But what deserves more particularly your Majesty's attention is that if the *Spaniards* were permitted to treat immediately with the *Indians*, these would suffer irreparable damages from their ill examples absolutely contrary to the morals and laws of christianity. And moreover, that the *Spaniards* I speak of would be sure to propagate among the *Reductions* pernicious maxims against the ministers of Jesus Christ. By frequently molesting and cheating the *Indians*, they would soon bring them to be as vexatious and as deceitful as themselves. Nothing is left unpractised to decoy them into the *Spanish* towns. They engage the husbands to leave their wives, and the children to fly from their parents. These they take when they can, and carry off persons of all ages and both sexes. Would to God we had never known by fatal experience what they are capable of. To prevent these evils, the

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*Spaniards* were forbidden to make any long stay, when they passed through any *Reduction*. This prohibition however does not concern the bishop, governours, or their officers. Not long ago a lieutenant of your Majesty's dragoons continued about a year in one of the *Reductions*, with four soldiers of the garrison of *Buenos Ayres*, by order of the governour of the province *D. Bruno de Zavala*. He had been sent to put such arms as were necessary into their hands, to teach them the proper use of them, and to prepare them for the expedition from *Paraguay*.

Father *d' Aguilar* adds what has been so often mentioned, and is confirmed by the most authentic attestations of the bishops and governours, printed at *Madrid*, viz. that to communicate with the *Spaniards* is a contagious evil for the *Indians*. If an infidel nation frequent the *Spaniards*, it is near an impossibility to convert them. This has been found too true by experience in all these Provinces. To hope to bring over to christianity the *Payaguas* in *Paraguay*, the *Charuas*, the *Calchaquis*, the *Abipones* near *Corrientes* and *Santa Fè*, the *Pampas*, the *Minuanes* towards *Buenos Ayres* and the other *Pampas* settled in the country adjacent to *Cordova*, is to hope for the conversion of the Jews."

What *Coreal* says of the gold brought to the Missionaries, who recommend the contempt of worldly wealth to the *Indians*, has been already observed,

observed. This author, who has all the air of a sectary, tho' disguised under the name of a *Spaniard* and a Catholic, goes on and says, that the zeal of the good Fathers redoubles when the time approaches to receive the tribute from the people, that they collect it after the Sermon, and take care to get all that is collected brought safely to be lodged in the Magazines of the Society.

After *F. d' Aguilar* has drawn up in his memorial all the reasons for hindring the destructive commerce which *Barua* openly favours, he affirms without any fear of being contradicted, that if any opposition is made to this commerce, it is not with a view to obstruct the *Spaniards* in the discovery of those chimerical gold mines, trumped up by antient enemies of the Society; and which imaginary mines are still the idols of some persons blinded with interest and passion. Is it possible, that such a great quantity of Gold as they publish should not some where or other be betrayed by the brightness of the metal. Have not several juridical inquiries been made at the request of the Jesuits themselves on this account? Has not the world been convinced in process of time, that the accusations formed to this effect by several persons against the Jesuits were entirely calumnious? Are not the sentences past by your Majesty's judges against the informers manifest proofs of what I advance? Tho' this gold should not discover itself, it would have

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been



been infallibly discovered by so many *Spaniards* both ecclesiastics and secular, and persons of so much wisdom and zeal for the good of the state, who have seen all the *Reductions*. To go farther, could so many *Indians* who go down the rivers in their floats, and who land in the *Spanish* towns, so many fugitives, who, as may be well supposed, have been closely examined on the matter, would they all have been totally ignorant of this secret? Would none of them have revealed it?

*Barua* goes on with the accusation. He charges the Missionaries with receiving the whole growth of the land, and the produce of their Manufactories, without the *Indians* being allowed any thing but their cloathing. Calumnies, which can no ways be supported; since it is evident that the *Indians* pay their Pastors neither tribute nor tythes. And what is gathered from the *Tupambae*, or the land in common, is lodged in the public Granaries, and public Magazines. These public funds are employed for the payment of the tribute, which the *Indians*, left to their sloth and negligence, would never acquit; and also to bear their expences, who are abroad in the service of the *Reduction*, or of the King in war, or otherwise. And farther, to supply the *Indians* with the herb of *Paraguay*, tobacco, cotton, horses, mules, horn-cattle, tools, arms, drugs; to support the expences of the church, and keep it in repair; to relieve the sick; not  
to

to mention the meat given daily to the children, when they have done their days work. "It is a calumny, *F. d'Aguilar* goes on, to say, that the Missionaries, instead of employing the revenues of the *Tupambae* in procuring what is useful for the *Indians*, make use of them to provide all the conveniences of life, to enrich their college, relations and friends, or to feed their vanity. Let these sharp sighted people tell, whether they ever saw a Missionary with an equipage suitable to a wealthy and rich person; whether they have seen any of these Fathers, returning to their Colleges, or going from one part of the country to another, carry any thing with them, but a pair of small bags, or a little box, with a little linnen, or some cloathing suitable to their state, and provisions for the road. Has any one ever found at their death, any quantity of gold, bills of credit, rich furniture, or any thing of this nature."

In fine, to give fresh proof of the Missionaries disinterestedness, Father *d'Aguilar* says, that the General of the Society of Jesus has forbid in the most express and strong terms, that a superior can use, all particulars, and even the Provincial, to appropriate any thing whatsoever from the public Magazines, or dispose thereof otherwise than for the relief of the *Indians*, tho' it should be by way of alms, or for pious uses. The General has also forbid his subjects all palliated trafic, or any charity, from the lands of the *Ré-*  
*ductions,*

*ductions*, to poor Colleges. And in effect the condition most Colleges are in, in *America*, shows that the General's orders are well observed. And the Bishops, and Governours of the Provinces, confirmed this by their unsuspected evidence at the court of *Spain*.

It is not foreign to the purpose to observe, that the Governour accusing the Jesuits of so many atrocious crimes, does not allege a single fact that he pretends to warrant. If all the imputations he lays to the Missionaries were true, ought not a person in authority, as he was, to have been provided with sufficient materials to convict them clearly? He might have filled the country with spies, and got juridical informations drawn up, and those backed with proper witnesses, and incontestable proofs. And yet nothing of this has been done; the information only offers to view a vague declamation unsupported by any solid proofs. There appears in every page, a man who speaks and shews that he is carried away with passion; and not a Governour of a Province, examining and discussing the affair with the wisdom and gravity becoming his station; nor making use of the helps his post could supply.

Whilst *Barua* strove all he could to decry the Missionaries of *Paraguay*, some late converted nations revolted; for that they could not bear any longer the cupidity and pride of the *Spaniards*. These melancholy events were but too strong



strong a proof of the truth Father *d' Aguilar* had advanced in his memorial.

Nevertheless the Government found powerful protectors at court; many advised the catholic King to exact a larger tribute from the *Reductions*. It was a sure means to lose the *Indian Colonies* in a short time, and to increase still more the hatred and animosity of the savage *Indians*; in a word, to confirm them in their persuasion, that the only design of making them christians was to make them slaves.

But no Prince for this long time has been seated on the *Spanish Throne*, who has not professed a singular piety, and a particular attachment to the duty of a christian. *Philip V.* went on gloriously in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors. He saw all the injustice of the counsels suggested to him by some persons, and that he could not follow them without a great prejudice to religion, and to the state, which in many occasions had received great assistance from their important services. In fine, *F. d' Aguilar's* memorial made so strong an impression on the King, that he forbid under the severest penalties molesting henceforwards the *Indians* and their zealous Pastors.

And thus ended this affair, which brought the *Reductions* to the very brink of ruin. God only knows what is to be. There is room to hope, that nothing will ever weaken the true zeal which inflames the hearts of the catholic Kings, to promote

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mote the conversion of infidels. These Princes will never cease protecting the Missionaries of the society of Jesus, who expose themselves to so many hardships and labours, without sparing even their lives in the occasion, to advance the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and to inspire into the people a due submission to their lawful sovereigns.

F I N I S.

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THE FIRST  
LETTER  
OF

Father *Cajetan Cattaneo.*

*Dear Brother,*

Buenos Ayres, 18 May, 1729.

WE are at last arrived safe at *Buenos Ayres*; and I lay hold of the first leisure moments to discharge my promise of giving you an account of our voyage. It has been very prosperous; and tho' we have gone thro' many hardships that are unavoidable in tedious navigations, all agree that we are very well off.

Last year on Christmas Eve we set sail from the road of *Cadiz*. We Missionaries, fourscore in number, went on board two frigates. We had with us a *Patache*, or Pinnace of twenty guns, and an advice boat, that kept us company for fear of falling into the hands of pirates, and was to go in consort with us to the *Canaries*, and then to make for *Carthagena*.

We



We soon lost sight of land by a favourable but too brisk a gale. This gave from time to time such violent tosses to the vessel, that we could hardly keep our feet. An unguarded Sailor fell overboard. We had the diversion to see him swim like a fish, without losing the pipe he had in his mouth. He got on board again by the help of a rope, which we threw out. Tho' we could carry but little sail with this violent wind, we were in sight of the *Canaries* in five days. A contrary wind which arose at that time obliged us to keep tacking about till the Epiphany, when we cast anchor in the bay of *Santa Cruz*, a town in the Island of *Tenerif*. We made some stay there, both to lay in provisions, water, masts, and the like, and to give time to some families of the *Canaries* to come on board the Pinnace. These families were destined to populate a Colony that is now settling by his Majesty's orders near the mouth of the great river *la Plata*, in a place called *Monte Video*, of which I shall have occasion to speak in another place.

We met with all manner of civilities from the *French* Consul during the few days we staid in the bay of *Santa Cruz*. He was particularly acquainted with father *Jerome Herran*, Procurator of the Missions of *Paraguay*, who came with us and was our Superiour. The Consul's civility was not to *F. Herran* alone; we all had a share in his kindness; and he sent us refreshments of all sorts.

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The Bishop of *Santa Cruz* was out upon the visitation of the Island of *Palma*. But the Secretary of the Diocess, who knew the sentiments of the Prelate with regard to our Society, shewed us all possible kindness and friendship. We spent a whole day ashore. Four of the Fathers dined at the Bishop's Palace. An *Italian* happened to be there, who is settled in the Island, and has a considerable post. The income of his place alone is very sufficient to live decently at ease in that cheap Country; but he is moreover concerned very largely in trade. As soon as he heard that there were some *Italians* among the Missionaries, he came to us in all haste, and with all the demonstrations of that gladness, which is usually felt, when, after a long absence from our native soil, we meet with Country-men. Tho' he had not told us that he was a *Bolognese*, his pronunciation discovered it sufficiently; and I do not think that in all *Bologna* there is a more voluble tongue than this Gentleman's. He would not leave us till we had promised to dine with him the next day. We kept our word, and he carried us to a very pretty country-box of his near the town. The entertainment was very magnificent. As the Guests were persons that had read and travelled much, the conversation proved very engaging. The entertaining and facetious accounts thrown in by our *Bolognese* hindered it being more serious. For he is a most agreeable, as well as a polite genius. After dinner he shewed us round the town, which is

not very considerable; the buildings are very low, excepting the houses of some chief inhabitants of the Island, the convents, and the episcopal Palace, which is a handsome structure enough. Night come on, and we quitted our amiable *Italian* with regret, who had entertained us so agreeably. He even desired us to take up our quarters with him, till the ships set sail. But we could not accept this kind offer. He is called *Gaspar Biondi de Conti*; his mother is still living, and his brother keeps up the name and the family at *Bologna*. The isle of *Tenerif* at a distance presents the eye with nothing but heaps of mountains, and frightful cliffs. What is most remarkable, is the famous *Pike*. This name is given to a very high mountain situated in the middle of the Island; and which on a fair day is seen near a hundred and fifty miles off at sea. More than half of it is concealed from the sight by clouds, above which the high point or *Pike*, covered almost always with snow, rises in the form of a sugar loaf. The chief wealth of the Island is tobacco, silk, and wine, well known and more esteemed in *Europe* under the name of *Canary*. When we passed by, there were fifteen ships of different nations in the harbour, preparing for their return into *Europe* with cargoes of that wine.

Several forts built along the coast guard it against the Pirates of *Barbary*, that continually infest those Seas; and in time of war against the European nations that are enemies to *Spain*. The

*Canaries*



*Canaries* lie very convenient for trade. And here the ships bound for the Indies take the chief of their provisions.

The People of the *Canaries* are always on their guard. While we hovered in sight of the Island, before we could make the bay, the captain-general feared we might be enemies. Two *French* sail had joined us, and at some little distance appeared six more, all together had the appearance of a small fleet. The Captain fired two guns, as a signal to the inhabitants to put themselves under arms. The Canon of *Laguna*, another town further within-land, answered with as many guns. In a short time four thousand inhabitants armed with fire locks appeared along the coasts, with some *Spanish* troops that garrison the forts I have mentioned. They have still some *arquebuses*, or old fashioned firelocks, that go off with a wheel, and which they use very dexterously. After the usual signals had declared who we were, we saluted the citadel with eleven guns. There needed no more to put an end to their fears, and the militia was instantly dismissed.

Nothing so tedious as being on shipboard, particularly when a vessel is detained in the harbour. But a fresh incident made it more disagreeable. We had on board our frigate some troops that were sent to *Buenos Ayres*; these were of two sorts: the one old dragoons well disciplined; and the other new raised men, and not at all pleased with their destination. For *Paraguay* has not near the credit in *Spain*, which *Peru* and

*Chili* have. The new Recruits must needs go a shore; but it was not thought at all proper, for fear of desertion. Upon this a kind of mutiny followed. Several jumped overboard and made for land. They were soon discovered and brought back. This disposed them still more to revolt. They had not irons enow on board for them, and the ship became a mere hell. Besides the discontented soldiers complained that no wine had been given them since their departure from Spain. It was true, but this complaint was however groundless. No wine is ever given to soldiers on board *Spanish* vessels, to prevent excess of drinking, and other disorders. But when they are arrived at their term, the King allows them in money the value of the wine, that would have come to their share in the passage.

A wealthy Passenger thought he could pacify the soldiery, and gave them a barrel of *Malmsey*. But this had a quite contrary effect. The glass had scarce gone round before they began with bitter invectives against their officers. Some of the most turbulent were caned, which contributed to keep the rest in awe for a while. Soon after they fell to quarrelling and fighting one with another. Luckily for them, they had no arms. It is a wise custom on board the *Spanish* vessels, not to allow the soldiers swords, bayonets, or fire-arms, except such as are upon duty on the fore-castle, and quarter-deck. If an enemy appears, the arms are immediately handed about.

about. The dragoons were not concerned in the tumult; and orders were given them to oblige the seditious to return to their duty. They effectually discharged their commission with cutlasses in their hands. But tranquility was not restored till we set sail again on the 21st of *January*.

We then resumed our *Novena's*, and the usual exercises of piety and devotion. It is not to be expressed how much good may be, and is really, done by zealous Missionaries on ship-board. Passengers, soldiers and sailors, being under a necessity of hearing frequent sermons, are often moved, and take a resolution to lead a better life. We had the comfort of seeing numbers, who sincerely detested and expiated their sins by good general confessions.

The twenty sixth of *January* we were under the tropic of *Cancer*. About this time the *black-guard* began to shew themselves. This name is given by the *Spaniards* to a set of people, who, having nothing in *Europe*, go for the *Indies* to try their fortunes. But as they are not able to pay their passage, they contrive to make a friend among the crew. The friend, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the captain, brings them on board amidst the crowds of people who bring in provisions or goods some days before the ship's departure. They lie conceal'd among the bales, and live as they can till they are at a sufficient distance at sea. When they are well assured there is no danger of the ship's putting back to reland them,



they appear by degrees. The captain seeing these supernumerary mouths, exclaims, storms, and threatens to throw them overboard: they are sure he will not do any such thing, and hear him with patience. These adventurers are very commonly found on board: Yet there is not a captain that goes off, but is satisfied that he has by his vigilance kept out these interlopers.

Tho' we were in the torrid zone we had some feeling of winter, either from the sun's being in the South Declination, or from a very sharp wind. Spring came on at once, and we were some nine or ten degrees off the Equator. We soon felt a hot summer, and the heats continued till we passed the tropic of *Capricorn*. Then it was autumn with us, and we made *Buenos Ayres* in that season. Thus in three months time we went thro' all the seasons of the year.

But to proceed in order, a pretty favourable wind carried us on towards the Line. We made two *Novena's* one to *St. Joseph*, and the other to *St. Anthony*, to obtain through their intercession the favour of escaping those dismal calms, of twenty, thirty, or sometimes forty days, which often surprise ships on both sides of the Equator, to the seventh or eighth degree of latitude. When you come near the equator the wind falls at once, and the ship makes no way without the help of some gusts of wind, called by the *Spaniards*, *Turboradas*. These are hurricanes that rise suddenly, and are accompanied usually with rain, thunder, and lightening. The great violence of these

storms

storms holds seldom above half a quarter of an hour; but they cause such an agitation in the air and in the sea, as forwards a ship for an hour or two. To reap the benefit of these *Turbonadas*, all hands must be ready to spread or draw in the sails, as occasion requires. For sometimes the bursts of wind are so violent, that they are enough to overset or disable a ship, unless the sailors be upon their guard.

These storms are succeeded by calms, as I have said, that continue some time more or less, and were extremely troublesome to us, whilst they lasted. The longest calm we had kept on eight days, and took us about four degrees off from the equator. In a former letter I observed to you how streightened we were in our lodgings. That part of a Cabin, where five and thirty of us were stowed, was like an oven. If we stepped out to breathe a little fresh air, the sun scorched us, and his rays, then almost perpendicular, and reflected from the sea, set all the air on fire; and our whole business in a manner was to wipe off the sweat that ran down in streams from our faces. But thirst was our greatest torment. We were allowed three glasses of water in the morning, and as many in the evening. We were however far better off than the greatest part of the passengers. The captain had taken care to put up the water he designed for the passengers in bottles well corked, and what was destined for his crew in fresh and very close barrels. Both continued very good, and did not corrupt, as it

commonly happens. It were to be wished, that the like caution had been taken with our biscuit; there was hardly a bit that was not full of maggots, and appeared extremely nauseous.

The night was near as troublesome as the day. It was almost impossible to get a wink of sleep: for there were in our apartment several rows of beds one above another, scarce two foot wide each, and resembled, especially the lowest tire, so many dog-holes: one was smothered with heat; but the greatest trial of our patience was the incredible swarms of flees, bugs, and lice, that devoured us without any hopes of getting rid of this vermine. But supposing this had been done, it could not hold long: for there was no coming near a foldier, or a sailor, without recovering very soon all that had been lost.

Mean while we advanced fair and softly. Our vessel called the *St. Bruno*, the other the *St. Francis*, had two Pilots of quite opposite turns. One was young, and very skilful in his profession, but sometimes a little too venturous. Ours had more experience; but forty years spent at sea had only served to make him exceeding timorous. He seldom carried any but the mizzen sail, not to give the wind too much hold. The other, who found that his ship was a heavy sailer, and was often forced to keep a stern, took all the gale his sails could gather without fear. One day he would get a head of us, as if he intended to ridicule the slowness of our sail, a sudden blast snapped two of his masts, which gave us the greatest concern for the *St. Francis*. We feared  
that



that the masts in falling had killed a great many. Luckily they hung among the sails and the rigging time enough for the people to get out of the way. The *St. Francis* stopped short in her course. We bore up to her directly and offered our assistance. But this was refused by the Pilot, who gave us to understand that the next day he should be able to come on. He really kept his word, but wanted two sails the rest of his voyage, which was a hinderance to us who were obliged to wait for him. This accident happened on the 19th of *February*; we had passed the Line the day before. The day of passing the Line is always kept as a feast and day of rejoicing on board all ships. Our crew would not miss the ceremony, to which some have given the name of baptism; it is also called the ransom, as the passengers are obliged to pay something to excuse their being duckt in the sea. Nothing can be more diverting than this ceremony, and perhaps you will not be displeased at my giving you an idea of it; and 'tis what I shall now do in as few words as possible;

On the eve of the solemnity was seen upon deck in the evening a company of sailors, dressed like soldiers, preceded by a couple of officers, and a herald who proclaimed an order for all passengers to be at the hour appointed on the quarter deck next day, there and then to inform his excellence the Lord-president of the Line with the motive that had induced them to come into those seas, and who had given them leave

for it. The proclamation was then fixed at the foot of the main mast, and the sailors withdrew.

Early the next morning they got ready on the quarter-deck a table covered with a carpet, pens, ink, and paper, and chairs all round the table. The sailors were formed into a much larger company than on the eve. They had on the dragoons regimentals, and each a cutlass and a pike. They came by beat of drum with their officers before them to the place appointed, where an arm chair was placed for the Lord president, who came last with the greatest gravity in the midst of his officers clothed like magistrates. He wore a very genteel suit of cloaths in the *French* fashion. They could not pitch upon a person of better talents for the part he was to act.

The president had scarce sat down on his chair of state, when a poor wretch was brought in, charged, as they said, with I know not what crime committed before he passed the Line. The criminal without any farther form of law was condemned to be plunged in the sea. He offered to prove his innocence; his excuses were construed into want of respect to the Lord-president, who laying some blows on his shoulders with his cane, ordered three plunges instead of one. They fastened a rope about his middle that ran through a pulley at the end of the main yard. They hoisted him up to let him fall into the sea; but he was soon taken up and plunged as often as it pleased Lord-president, after which he was set at liberty. The rope remained as it was, for a

terror to all who should have any thoughts of failing in due respect to his excellence.

After this first execution his Lordship sent his officers to bring the captain of the ship before him, who made his appearance uncovered before the President. He interrogated the captain how he came to be so bold as to sail into these seas. I did it, replied the captain, by the order of the King my master; I have his authority to that effect. This was judged a very bad answer. Who besides me, cries out his Excellence, has any right to exercise any jurisdiction on these seas, or to authorise any person to come into them? I am willing however to suppose that you have transgressed more through ignorance, than malice; and instead of confiscating your vessel, as I can do with justice, I shall only condemn you to pay the small fine of one hundred flasks of wine, to which you must add some other trifles. The captain expostulated greatly upon the enormity of the fine, and represented smartly that it was more than he could afford. After a very humorous debate on this article, the captain came off with twenty seven flasks of wine, half a dozen hams, and about two dozen *Holland* cheeses. The whole was delivered on the spot. The President having dismissed the captain in the politest manner, ordered his chief officers to bring him back to his cabin.

All the Passengers were called upon in their turn: his Excellence put near the same questions  
to



to them as he did to the Captain, but still with something particular and new to every one. There would never be an end, were I to relate all the incidents occasion'd by this farce, with the diverting flights and repartees of the President, and some Passengers. The *Spaniards* are inimitable on these occasions, and our Lord-president excelled particularly in this way. He had a very swarthy complexion, and an odd forbidding aspect which could not bear looking at without laughing. As to his Excellency, during the whole ceremony, which lasted a long time, he maintained his character with the gravity of a *Cato*. But while they were making merry after this manner, every one was laid under contribution from the first to the last, tho' in proportion to their abilities. When the ceremony was over, the Captain ordered a very handsome collation for the President and his officers, with some refreshments, of which the sailors had their share. After which they retired by beat of drum as they came. One thing only was wanted to compleat the farce, and this was to duck the Lord-president himself in his turn, or one of his Officers. This was not forgot on board the *St. Francis*, where his Excellency went through the whole ceremony. When the President was bringing back to his quarters, the Captain rushed out of his apartment much surpris'd, and asked the meaning of all this pageantry? And being answered, that it was his Excellency the Lord President of the Line. Who is this President  
of

of the Line, replies the Captain, with an appearance of anger? Is there any master here but myself? To punish his daring insolence, take him directly and dip him in the sea. However as the President was but a passenger, who had been desired on account of his pleasant humour, to personate the Lord-president of the Line, the Captain who was afraid of mortifying him, ordered a couple of his officers to be ducked in his room. The order was directly obeyed by the same soldiers who had just now served them as guards. This sudden and disagreeable change with regard to the two magistrates, gave the rest of the crew a great deal of diversion.

During the calms, while the vessel lay as still as a rock in the sea, they employed the time in taking of sharks. The Shark is commonly about five or six feet long, and very thick in proportion to his length. He follows the ships that are bound to the *Indies*, in order to seize on whatever falls into the sea. An Author quoted by *Franciocini* in his *Spanish and Italian Dictionary*, reports, that there was found in the belly of a shark, a couple of hats, seven hams, a large pewter dish, and several other things of the like nature. Those we caught were of a midling size. They found in the stomach of the first we took, a shoe, and some other curiosities, which I don't recollect. Imagine what dainty morsels these fish must pick up, while they accompany a whole fleet; especially when ships are wrecked. The Sharks that are taken are commonly opened in hopes

hopes of finding something valuable. But the fleshy part of them is very unsavory and unwholesome. In the excessive heats of the torrid zone, some persons will bathe in the sea to be refreshed. Nothing is more dangerous, unless you are constantly on the watch. Swimmers have been more than once devoured instantaneously by the sharks. When any of our crew bathed, they took care to have a guard, to give notice in case of danger.

The shark is taken with a hook, but not without difficulty. Upon hearing the fall of the hook baited with flesh into the sea, the shark turns off on his back. Some little fishes named *Romerinos*, guide him to his prey, and are also called his Pilots. They either go a head of him, or stick on his head or back. When he is hooked it is very amusing to see the little Pilots scud- ing to and fro all in confusion, as it were to help their master. Most of them fasten and cling about him, before he is quite hauled out of the water, and suffer themselves to be taken with him. This little fish, which is no less agreeable to the taste, than to the sight, weighs about half a pound. As soon as the shark is drawn aboard, every one takes care to be armed with iron bars to break his head, where a stone is found, said to have very great medicinal virtues. Sometimes they are satisfied with laying on a few blows; they pluck out his eyes, and tie him by the middle to a barrel, and fling him into the sea,



sea, to divert the spectators with his fruitless struggles to get clear of his incumbrance.

We took several other kinds of fish, and of various sizes : but none very remarkable, except the flying fish. This has two wings that nearly resemble those of a bat : he flies in the air to escape a fish called the *Bonite* that pursues him. The Flying Fish cannot keep on the wing above two or three stones throw. The *Bonite* is extremely nimble, and swims after him so swiftly, that he very commonly comes up time enough to catch him in his mouth, when he drops into the sea, which he always does when his wings grow dry. The Flying Fish like most sea birds, go in flocks. Now and then some fall on the ships ; we had one fell on board our vessel. I took him in my hands, and viewed him at leisure. What we saw was near the size of the *Mullet*.

The twenty sixth of *February*, the sun was directly over our heads, and I observed that at noon our bodies cast no shadow. Some days before we were surprised with a tempest, very luckily, neither long, nor dangerous. Do not expect I shall give you a description of a storm after Poets and Historians have taken so much pleasure in painting a raging sea. Then it was I first saw the fire called St. *Elmo*. This is a small flame that is sometimes seen in a storm on the top of the mast, or at the end of the main-yard. The sailors look upon this as a happy presage that the storm will be soon over, for which they thank themselves

themselves obliged to the protection of St. *Elmo*, whose picture they always have on board, and in which he is represented standing near a ship with a little flame in his hand. When I came on deck to see this *Phenomenon*, I found the crew were singing the Litanies of our B. Lady. Tho' the wind seemed, off and on, to rise with greater force, no doubt was made of the storm soon abating; and they were not deceived in their hopes.

Another particular, I thought, deserved to be remarked; *viz.* that when it rains under the torrid zone, especially near the equator, the rain water in a few hours is seen changed into whitish maggots, like those bred in cheese; and if care is not taken to dry the wet cloaths by the sun, or the fire, they will be soon covered with these small insects.

I pass over several circumstances of our voyage, as too trifling to interest your curiosity. We reached the tropic of *Capricorn* about midlent; the whole time of *Lent* was spent at sea, without any advantage to better our lenten fare. As many suffer from thirst, tho' in the midst of water, so many, tho' with fish in plenty all round them, eat perhaps less of that kind at sea, than is done any where else. The motion of the ship does not allow fishing. We had fresh fish but three or four times. As to all the *Lent* besides we were to content ourselves with salt-fish; if this did not satisfy our hunger, at least it made us thirsty. Moreover the hours for Lenten meals  
are

are not the same on board the *Spanish* vessels as in *Italy*. About nine in the morning we sit down to table and take our *collation*, called the *Almu-erzo*; at three in the afternoon dinner is served up, called by the *Spaniards*, *La Comida*; and till the next day nothing more is taken.

Fervour and assiduity in the practices of Religion redoubled during this holy time. We preached by turns, and the Sermon always concluded with an act of contrition, which the preacher repeated with a loud voice. The crew frequently expressed with tears, the compunction that pierced their hearts. The Captain, Officers, and Passengers, heard the Sermon standing, to shew the greater respect to the word of God. Moreover we daily expounded the christian doctrine, and the Rosary, with other prayers were recited in four different parts of the ship; *viz.* by the Passengers in the fore-castle, the sailors on the quarter deck, the soldiers on the mid-deck, and the servants of the ship under deck. It was the greatest pleasure to us, to hear on all sides the praises of our Lord, and his blessed mother, ecchoing again in the midst of the ocean.

The 25th of *March*, being Lady day, we saw very early in the morning a thick mist rising, which made us imagine that we were not far from Land. We sounded, and found that we were only in 140 fathom water. The fog we were in hindered the Pilot determining our distance from shore. As he was apprehensive of running on some rock or other, he steered due South to the  
thirty



thirty fifth degree; which is the latitude of Cape St. Mary's: His course on the 27th was west, and he was surprised in the afternoon to find only fifty fathom water. He concluded according to the depths marked in the charts of those seas, that we were not above eight or ten leagues from land. But it was then too late in the day to offer at discovering the land, and we were obliged to *lie by*, that is, to dispose the sails in such manner that by the wind being beaten back from one sail to another, the vessel neither advances nor goes back much.

The Pilot of the St. *Francis* was much bolder and more venturesome; he kept on his course to discover land; we endeavoured to dissuade him. Our ship being commanded by the Commodore, the Captain had a right to command him; but he did not think proper to obey the signals; and the thickness of the fog gave him an opportunity to withdraw from the too great subjection we had kept him under. He was not long in effect before he came within sight of land. We for our part were becalmed, and continued two days in the same place. The thirtieth an easy gale bore us towards the coast. About nine o'clock a young man at the main-mast top called out, *Land, Land*. You may judge whether the news was welcome to people, who for two months and a half had seen nothing but the sky and water. All the spying glasses great and small were immediately directed towards the land, which is not very easily discovered, as it lies very low and

is very flat. At length when the naked eye could descry land distinctly, we sung *Te Deum* in thanksgiving; but our labours were far from being so near an end as we imagined.

We were now very uneasy about the *St. Francis*, and feared she had met with some disaster. The Pinnace that sailed with us from the *Canaries*, caused the same apprehensions, when we lost sight of her off the *Cape Verd* Islands; after that we never saw her. The Captain gave orders to the watch at the main mast top, to keep a sharp look out for the *St. Francis*, and promised him three bottles, if he gave an account of her. Soon after he cried out that he saw her. We took our telescopes, and we all agreed that we descried a ship under full sail, making the shore, and that this must be the *St. Francis*. The bottles of wine were delivered that instant; but our joy was not long lived. What we took for the *St. Francis* was nothing but a heap of rocks, which seen at a distance have the appearance of a ship under sail. We had read some days before in a very accurate relation, that these rocks had often deceived persons at sea. Mean while we were still persuaded that what we saw was a ship, and several considerable wagers were laid. At length when we came nearer, we found our mistake beyond all possibility of doubt. For these same rocks seen in another point of view, represented old castles fallen into ruin, upon which they got the name of *Los Castillos*.

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To compleat our misfortunes, a contrary wind that rose on a sudden obliged us to tack about. On the 2d of *April* we were above fifty leagues off the shore. This caused very soon a sedition and very great disorder on board. We were in the open sea and very uncertain when we should make the shore. Our provisions were almost at an end, and it was said that we had only as much water as would hold out about ten days; and besides they talk'd of diminishing the soldiers allowance. The officers declared, if the project took place, they could not promise to keep their men in due order and subjection. The soldiers had already protested, that if they were brought to a short allowance, the rest ought to fare alike; since every one of them had an equal right to live. The Captain changed his mind by the advice of some discreet and experienced persons.

This was scarce over, when the Passengers had as hot a dispute with the Pilot. The contrary winds fell, and the Passengers were against keeping any longer out at sea. The Pilot replied, that the wind was favourable, but too fresh, and that there was danger in coming too near the coast. They begged at least to be brought within sight of land, that some twelve soldiers and as many sailors might be sent ashore to fetch water, and to kill some of the cattle we had seen on the coast. The Pilot was not to be moved, and said he would



not direct his course to the west till he was off the *Rio de la Plata*, so as to get into the river without coasting the shore. As to the scarcity of provisions, he added, the Captain should have provided; but that his business was to pilot the ship with safety. The Passengers made answer, that they might as well be cast away as starve; it was but perishing either way, with this difference only, that they must inevitably starve, whereas the danger of being wrecked subsisted merely in the Pilot's imagination, who found shoals and sand-banks every where. All was to no purpose, and nothing could prevail upon the old Pilot, till the Passengers were out of all patience, and assembled in a body in the state room, with the Captain at their head. When they meet in this manner they are a lawful court of judicature on board the ship, invested with full authority. The Pilot was cited and ordered to sail for the coast. He obeyed, otherwise an action would have been brought against him in due form at *Buenos Ayres*. He made his course by degrees to the west, and in two days we descried and doubled the Cape of St. *Mary*, and arrived at the mouth of the *Plata*.

I had frequently heard and read in *Europe*, that the *Plata* was fifty leagues over at the mouth; but I apprehended that the account was something exaggerated. As I had now a fair opportunity to satisfy my doubts, I gratified my curiosity, and was convinced by my own

eyes, that what had been advanced was very true. For when we left *Monte video*, a fort built upwards of thirty leagues higher up than the mouth of the river, where the river has lost at least half of its breadth, we were obliged to cross it. We lost sight of land before we reached the middle, and sailed all day before we discovered the opposite side. At *Buenos Ayres*, where I am at present, the river is contracted one half more, at thirty or forty leagues above *Monte video*, and yet the eye cannot reach the opposite side. I have often gone up in a clear sky to a place of considerable height, and could never discover any thing but the *Horizon* bounded with water, as it is at full sea. The *Plata* is not of a depth proportionable to its breadth; it is full of sand-banks that are not covered with more than two or three fathom of water. The most remarkable of these lies at the mouth of the river, and makes the coming up very difficult for ships. It is called the *English* bank, either from being discovered first by *English* men, or from a vessel of that nation with a cargo of counterband silver, the first that was known to have been lost there. The *Portuguese* in the space of twelve years have lost eight ships on the same bank. The *Lanfranc*, a *Spanish* man of war of seventy Guns, narrowly escaped the like fate. You may easily imagine, whether our Pilot had just reason to fear this bank; he only knew the *Plata* under the name of the  
bell

*bell of Pilots* ; and not altogether without some reason. For the river, especially in hard weather, is incomparably more dangerous than the sea. When it blows a storm, and there is sea room, the sailors permit the ship to the waves without any fear, but here one is always encompassed with shelves or rocks. Besides the waves run as high in the river as in the sea ; and a ship runs the hazard of striking and splitting in shole waters, when it falls from the top of a wave into the lower that is next to it. We did not venture into the *Plata*, till we had taken all imaginable precautions not to run a ground. Night was coming on, and the Pilot would gladly have staid till the next morning, for fear of a rock under water, that lies some sixty paces off the Island of *Los Lobos*, or the wolves. We were then about two cannon shot from the Island, the moon shone very bright, and the Pilot was obliged to go forward, which he did very successfully.

This Island of wolves, is inhabited by nothing but multitudes of *Bafe*, or sea wolves. When they see a sail coming, they go in sholes to meet it ; and when they come up with it, they hang by their fore paws fast to the sides of the ship, and stare at the men that appear upon deck with great attention, grinding their teeth, and chattering almost like monkeys. After this they take to the water, passing and repassing continually before the ship, with



cries that are natural to them, and which are not disagreeable; till at last they retire to their Island, or the neighbouring coasts. They are hunted by the inhabitants of the country for their skins, which serve for various uses, and are much esteemed for the fineness of the hair. There is no danger in this chase; the sea wolves are not so fierce as to be feared, nor hard to be caught; and they fly away at the sight of a hunter.

After we had passed the Isle of wolves, a calm surprised us, which however did not last long. We made use of this leisure to catch a delicious sort of fish that is found there.\* The largest weigh about two pounds. And we found such plenty of them, that some of our sailors who bethought themselves of fastening two or three hooks to a line, drew up two or three every time.

There is another sort of fish in the *Plata*, called *viagros*. It has four long beards, or whiskers; and a sting on the back which is very dangerous, and causes in the part that is stung an immediate swelling, and excessive pains that are not easily cured. This sting seems but weak, but you may judge both of its hardness and strength from the following instance. We laid the fish on a table a full inch thick; he pierced it through and through, without any appearance of an extraordinary effort.

\* F. Cattaneo probably means the gold fish, or gilt head, said to swarm in the river Plata.

The day following we made much way by means of a brisk gale. At night we cast anchor near to the Island *Maldonat*. Not long ago the Sea-horse, a famous *English* ship, was cast away near this Island, by striking on a rock that lay even with the surface of the water. The whole crew perished, and above 1,600,000 piasters that made up the cargo, fell into the river. As all the money was counterband, the wreck was confiscated by the governour of *Buenos Ayres* to the King's treasury; and persons were immediately sent to fish up the silver, most of which, it is hoped, will be recovered. When we passed by the wreck, they had already sent off a boat with 80,000 *Piasters* for *Buenos Ayres*. The next morning we proceeded again with great precaution, and coasted the Island of *Flowers*. There is not a more dangerous place in this river. For the shelves and rocks which run along that side of the Island, and the extremity of the *English* Bank, which ends on the opposite side, form a very narrow and difficult passage. About noon we at last discovered *Monte video*, seven or eight leagues off. This is a Mountain by itself, and rises like a sugar-loaf; and there is a harbour at the bottom, and the first that is met with by the ships bound from the *Canaries* to *Buenos Ayres*. We made the port before night on the ninth of *April*, and the Eve of Palm-Sunday.

The joy we felt in being arrived at this safe harbour, rose in proportion to the length of a voyage of two thousand leagues, and the many dangers we had gone through. At *Monte video* we met with the *St. Martin*, that had left us off the *Cape verd* Islands. As soon as he perceived us, he saluted us with nine guns, and came to meet us. We were then informed that the *St. Francis* arrived at *Monte video* thirteen days before ; but weary of waiting for us, he had set sail for *Buenos Ayres* that very day. When he sent for a coasting Pilot for himself, he took care another should come and be ready for us, which enabled us to proceed on our voyage the next morning. You may not find *Monte video* in your maps, unless under the name of *Monte Seredo*. This is a new settlement, begun about two years ago, on the north west banks of the *Plata*. The King has granted leave to the *Canarians*, to send every year to *Buenos Ayres* a vessel laden with wines, and other merchandise, on condition they carry over at the same time a certain number of families to *Monte video*, till the settlement is sufficiently populated. And thus it comes to be inhabited only by families from the *Canaries*, of which the *St. Martin* had brought about twenty five, or thirty. This post is of great importance to the *Spaniards*, as it makes them masters of the whole country that lies between the *Plata*, *Brasil*, and the sea. The *Portuguese* have frequently endeavoured



endeavoured to possess themselves of this fort, that *Brasil* might be extended by this addition as far as the Colony of the B. Sacrament, which they founded in the Island of St. *Gabriel*, over against *Buenos Ayres*, and fortified with a strong castle. This is a sort of staple for all counterband goods, which they send off in what quantities they will to the *Spanish* dominions, and by land they supply them as far as *Chili* and *Peru*. This trade is not less advantageous to the *Portuguese*, than it is ruinous to the *Spanish* merchants. It is not the *Portuguese* only that grow rich at the expence of the *Spaniards*. This Colony admits the ships of different nations concerned in the counterband trade. When we arrived at *Buenos Ayres*, our merchants on board our ships had the mortification to hear, that actually there were in the Port of S. *Gabriel* twenty *English*, *French*, and *Portuguese* ships, that had sold their cargoes at a good price; and that the Country was plentifully provided with the goods our ships had brought.

The *Spaniards* by means of the *Indians* have twice dislodged the *Portuguese* from the Island of St. *Gabriel*; but the place was restored to them by treaty, and they have taken care to secure it from any insult by strong fortifications. They had also possessed themselves of *Monte video*, and had raised a fort; they likewise attempted to build another over against *Los Castillos*. Their scheme was to open a  
free

free communication between the new Colony and *Rio Janeiro*. At length the *Spaniards* opened their eyes, and saw the danger that threatned them. They attacked the *Portuguese*, and drove them from *Monte video*. After this, as they became sensible of the importance of the place, they erected a fortress, flanked with four bastions, garrisoned by two hundred soldiers, and plenty of brass canon. Close to this fortress the *Canarians* are building their town. As they are a robust and laborious people, it is hoped that in a short time they will be able to stand by themselves, and command all the neighbouring coasts.

The Missionaries on board the *St. Francis*, being detained several days in the port of *Monte video*, went ashore: They have told us since, that the whole town consisted but of three or four brick houses, together with fifty or sixty huts covered with hides, where the families newly arrived from the *Canaries* were lodged, till more solid and commodious houses could be provided. The Governour of *Buenos Ayres* has employed two thousand of the *Reduction Indians* about the works of this new town ever since the year 1725. The fortress has hitherto taken up their whole time. They are under the direction of a couple of Missionaries, who acquit themselves among them of all the functions of their holy ministry; and are lodged in leathern huts. The poor *Indians* have no such accommodations, but remain af-  
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ter hard work exposed to the inclemency of the air. Being exempted from the yearly tribute paid to the crown of *Spain*, is all the salary they receive.

We left *Monte video* on the tenth of *April*. A few leagues higher we descried the *St. Francis*. He had heard of our arrival by a boat that past, and cast anchor to wait for our coming up. From *Monte video* to *Buenos Ayres* the passage is about forty leagues. But this last part of the voyage is without question the most difficult; the river is full of sand banks; and it is not without the greatest precaution that ships can be navigated. Wherever night overtakes one, the anchor must be dropt. Each ship had her two boats, that kept a head about half a quarter of a league. The sounding line was always in use, and signals were made to let us know how many fathoms they had of water. Think of a couple of spaniels ranging in a field before their master, and you will frame a notion of our situation. With all our care we struck twice; but as the bottom was neither sand nor rock, the keel was not damaged.

At last on the fifteenth of *April*, being *good Friday*, we came to anchor three leagues off *Buenos Ayres*. The circumstance of the day did not permit us to fire our canon. But on *Saturday* as soon as we heard the town bells and the guns of the castle, we made a triple discharge of all our artillery. We could not  
land



land till *Easter Tuesday*, and we saw the shore four days together without a possibility of landing. A most violent wind blew from the west, and we were in danger of being lost in sight of the port. This wind is called *Pampero*, from its crossing a plain of 900 miles, named *Las Pampas*, and inhabited by roving *Indians*, known in the country by the name of *Pampas*. This plain, that reaches from *Buenos Ayres* to the confines of *Cbili*, is perfectly level, and only covered with very deep grass. The *Pampero* meeting in that vast extent with nothing that can stem its fury, gathers more and more strength, till coming directly down the channel of *La Plata*, it blows with such rage, that the ships are obliged to throw out all their anchors, and even to secure their cables with strong iron chains. Had this furious wind met us at the mouth of the river, it would very probably have driven us two hundred leagues out at sea.

The haven of *Buenos Ayres* has no shelter from the winds, and ships can come no nearer the town than three leagues. I cannot conceive what motive the *Spaniards* had to settle in so inconvenient a place; unless they intended to guard against all surprise from the enemies ships. The very boats, to get up to the town, are forced to fetch a great compass, and to put into a small stream, that falls into the river, and which may be about two or  
three

three fathom deep. When the river is low there is no getting into the little river.

We were under a necessity of continuing on board till the *Pampero* ceased; but we had abundant amends for this delay from the edifying scenes we saw on board the ships. The Passengers having the company of so many Missionaries, took this opportunity to satisfy the precept of the yearly confession and communion, and discharged this duty with exemplary piety.

We landed at last on *Tuesday* in Easter week, the 19th of *April* 1729, a hundred and ten days after we departed from *Cadiz*. The Governour of *Buenos Ayres*, as soon as the weather would permit, dispatched one of his barges to bring us to land. The shore was crowded with people. The variety of dresses, and figures, *Spanish* moreisk, and *Indian*, made a very agreeable appearance. All the Fathers of our College, with the Rector at their head, came to receive us at the water side. The Rector was a venerable old man, who was grown white with age in the missions, wherein he had spent forty nine years. He received us with open arms; and one would have thought that the joy he had of our arrival had made him young again. All the other Fathers were not backward in expressing the same affection and kindness to us. Their transports corresponded to the impatience they were in,  
whilst

whilst they expected us to supply the extreme scarcity of subjects in that province.

At some distance from the town we found the Governour himself, who was pleased to come and meet us, and favoured us with a most gracious and honourable welcome. His name is *Don Bruno de Zavola*. It is not easy to find a gentleman of better accomplishments. He is tall, and well proportioned. His gait would become a great King. During the late wars in *Spain* he lost part of his right arm in a battle. His Majesty, to recompense the services of this excellent officer, gave him the government of *Buenos Ayres*, and made him captain general of the Province, called *Rio de la Plata*. The want of his arm is not so much a deformity, as a monument that revives the memory of his brave actions.

As soon as we came into the town, we repaired streight to the Church of the College, where nothing but our arrival was expected to begin the *Te Deum*, which was followed with the *Salut*, or the Benediction of the B. Sacrament. I could not, I must own, forbear tears during this pious ceremony. I kissed with a comfort not to be expressed the ground that I had ardently longed to see, and found myself possess of all that I desired.

The first news that we heard at our landing, was as follows. Many nations earnestly desire to receive the holy baptism. Hitherto the Missionaries they wanted could not be sent.

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The nation of the *Zamucos*, which formerly brought brother *Albert Romero* to death with a shower of arrows, is at last converted to the faith of Jesus Christ; but Father *Castagnerez* is all alone in the numerous *Reduction* he has founded among that people. He makes besides frequent excursions among the *Ugarognos*, who seem inclined to embrace the christian Religion. He has converted so many, that he talks already of founding a *Reduction*, and is by that means in hopes of getting access to other very populous nations, that lie farther within land. But one man cannot go through so much fatigue and such laborious employments; and Father *Castagnerez* presses very strongly for evangelical workmen, that may take their share in the toil.

And now, dear brother, you have a faithful and circumstantial account of our voyage. I might indeed add a description of the country, the air, the number, and manners of the Inhabitants. But this must be the subject of another letter, which probably you will receive with this. I must beg you to make my compliments to all the persons I am used to name in the letters I write to you. I most earnestly recommend myself to their and your prayers, to the end that our Lord would be pleased to grant me the only grace I beg, the grace of employing myself wholly henceforwards to his greater glory, and of consecrating

crating every moment of my life to my own and my neighbours sanctification. I am dearest brother,

Your most affectionate servant and brother,

*Cajetan Cattaneo* of the Society of Jesus.

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## LETTER II.

*Dearest Brother,*

*Reduccion of St. Mary in the Missions of  
Paraguay, April, 30th, 1730.*

**I** GAVE you a circumstantial account of our voyage in the letter I wrote from *Buenos Ayres*. I went no farther, not to tire you with a long relation, or rather, to speak the plain truth, because I was tired with writing. For I must tell you, that I am more put to it now in writing four lines of *Italian*, than twenty formerly. I have lost the use both of speaking and writing my mother tongue. My pen would willingly run on, as it did before, but is forced to halt, till memory comes up, which follows with great difficulty, and dreads nothing so much as being hurried.

Cost what it will, I will now inform you, as you desire, of what regards *Buenos Ayres*, and the Province, of which it is the Capital,  
and

and lastly of the chief occurrences since our landing.

To begin with the last article, we made a stay of two months at *Buenos Ayres*, to recover the fatigue of our voyage, and to prepare for entering on the Missions, for which we were destined. At first almost all of us fell sick, and many were thought in extreme danger. This was attributed partly to the alteration in the humours, occasioned by the stench, and other inconveniences on board; partly by the change of air and diet; but chiefly to the water of *La Plata*, which they drink at *Buenos Ayres*. This water commonly gives the *Europeans*, not accustomed to it, cholics and disenteries, and brings on vomiting.

Mean while the carts were getting ready to carry to *Cordova* in *Tucuman* the students whom we had brought from *Europe*. The society has an University in that town, and the *Spaniards* of *Tucuman*, *Paraguay*, and *Rio de la Plata*, send their children thither for their studies. And the young Jesuits of *Paraguay* that have not finished their course of philosophy, and divinity, repair also to the same town to end their studies.

*Cordova* is three hundred and sixty miles, or thereabouts, from *Buenos Ayres*. All the country betwixt the two towns is a vast desert. 'Tis a plain terminated on all sides with a perfect horizon. To cross this immense flat, called the *Pampas*, water and biscuit must be

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laid



laid in, as for a sea voyage : for you are sure not to meet with it on the road.

We had not been quite six weeks at *Buenos Ayres*, when we saw some *Indians* arrive from the *Reductions*. They were from the *Reduction* of the *three Kings*, or *Yapeju*, which in the *Indian* language signifies the same. Of all the Colonies under our direction, this is the nearest *Buenos Ayres*, tho' at six hundred miles distance. The Christians of other *Reductions* were making ready to come and take the Missionaries with them. Those of *Yapeju* being the nearest got the start, and brought all sorts of music, to solemnise our arrival. As soon as the *Indians* landed, they came running to the College, quite impatient to see, and to be acquainted with us ; and went first to father *Herran's* apartment, whom they all knew, as he had lived a long time in the Missions. Their joy in seeing him again is not to be expressed. They were at a loss how they should demonstrate their gratitude to him for bringing so many Missionaries.

*F. Herran* sent us notice of their arrival. We came down that moment into the court, where they had placed themselves in order to receive us. In the first rank were placed the boys of twelve or fourteen years old, who sung the treble, and the *Alts* who were something older. In the second rank were the young men, who held the part of *tenors*. Next to them in the third rank were men who sung  
the

the base. The instruments were placed on both sides. As soon as we appeared, the good *Indians* intoned the *Te Deum*. I was extremely struck with a scene so new to me, and particularly with the modesty and zeal of which they gave such demonstrations. I was most tenderly affected, when on their singing the verse, *Te ergo quæsumus*, I saw them fall on their knees with an air of devotion that must have moved the most insensible heart.

Several days were spent in feasting and rejoicings. The Governour frequently honoured their sports and concerts with his presence; and was so delighted, that he often desired them to be continued till night. All the town crowded to their performances, and no one was weary with seeing the *Indians*. One of their dances was particularly admired, and I believe would not have displeased the nicest observers in *Europe*. This was formed of twelve youths, dressed after the manner of the *Incas*, or the antient nobles of *Peru*, before the *Spanish* conquest. Each had his musical instrument: four had small *Guitars* that hung from their necks: four had *Lutes*; and the other four had small *Violins*. They danced and played at the same time, with most surprising exactness. They were also seen performing the exercise of the bow, and other arms, with very great pleasure to the spectators.

In the morning they sung several *motets* in our church set to music, while the Masses

were saying: they were served by the children in gowns and surplices. Their modesty and exactness in observing the ceremonies that are prescribed, put me into a rapture. You would have taken the servers at Mass for two little statues at the foot of each altar, that moved by one and the same spring. But nothing delighted me more, than to see them altogether serving at high Mass. Every thing shewed their respect and devotion, and inspired it.

Whilst this was transacting, *F. Herran*, who had been already declared Provincial of *Paraguay*, set out for *Cordova*, with the students, and some Missionaries, whom he designed to send above fifteen hundred miles beyond *Cordova*, to the new Missions of the *Chiquites*. Twelve of us were destined for the Missions of the *Parana* and *Uruguay*. We stayed a few days longer, and waited the arrival of the *Indians* who were to conduct us, and we laid in the quantity of biscuit necessary for so long a journey. For excepting two or three plantations not far from *Buenos Ayres*, and a *Reduction* under the care of the religious of *St. Francis*, there is not in the whole tract a single house that you can have recourse to, if you should want. But I reserve the particulars of this journey for another letter, and confine myself at present to the description of *Buenos Ayres*, and its environs.

This town is situated on the west side of the river *Plata*, seventy leagues above the mouth of it. It is the capital of the Province



vince named *Rio de la Plata*, where two other towns are to be seen, but far less; viz. *Corrientes*, and *Santa Fé*. *Buenos Ayres* is without dispute the chief of the towns the *Spaniards* have built from the *Cordilleras* mountains to the ocean, not excepting even the city of the *Assumption*, which is the capital of *Paraguay*. It is said to reckon eight or ten thousand inhabitants. But at *Buenos Ayres* there are said to be sixteen thousand; a thousand native *Spaniards*; three or four thousand of *Spanish* extraction, and are called *Creoles*; and the rest are *Mulattoes*, *Mestizes*, or *Negroes*. Those are called *Mulattoes* who are born of a white man and a black woman, or a black man and a white woman. They are very easy to be distinguished either by their dress, or the complexion, which is a mixture of the *African* and *European*. The *Mestizes* are such as come from a mixt brood of *Indian* and *European*. They are pretty much upon the tawny.

The *Negroes*, who are much the greater number, are very well known. *America* swarms with them; not that they make a particular nation. They come from *Africa*, where they are purchased from their parents, who are not ashamed to bring their children to market, and to sell them for baubles, which are brought by the *Europeans*, and particularly the *English*, who carry off whole cargoes of these poor creatures. This is what is called the *Asiento de los Negros*, or the contract for sell-

ing of Blacks: in *America* they will sell for a hundred, or two hundred *Piasters* a head. In all the provinces comprehended under the general name of *Paraguay*, the *Negroes* are the only servants. No *Spaniard*, tho' never so poor, will ever go to service. As to the *Indians* themselves, few are to be seen in the *Spanish* towns, and what you meet there, go and come as they please. It is very seldom that they will serve a *Spaniard*. And now the *Spaniards* dare not attempt, as they have done before, on their liberty. They have had frequent occasions to repent their former violences.

*Buenos Ayres* is not only the most populous, but the fairest city of all these parts. In effect the other towns are only an unformed jumble of huts and houses, placed without order or symmetry. Imagine to yourself some villages built near one another, and separated by groves that hinder the sight of the houses, and you will have a tolerable exact idea of the *Spanish* towns in these parts. The following passage may help to cast a little more light on this subject. F. Provincial and his companion was on his visitation of the houses in the province of *Tucuman*, and on the road to *Rioja*, a town about six hundred miles from *Cordova*. The country he was to pass through to that town was as much a desert, as the way from *Buenos Ayres* to *Cordova*, but much more difficult, as it is very uneven and stony; insomuch that men are obliged to ride on mules, and that very slowly.

slowly. After a journey of twenty days, the Father companion found himself extremely fatigued. One day he advanced some way before the company, and being very sleepy he alighted under some trees in the road, without knowing where he was, or when he should reach his journey's end, which seemed to be yet at a greater distance from him; he soon dropped asleep in the shade. Mean while the Provincial comes up; the Muletier, who was their guide, sees the Father asleep on the grass, awakes him hastily, and asks him with an air of surprize, whether he was not ashamed of sleeping in so public a place? What public place, replies the father? We have wandered these three weeks in this desert, and God knows when we shall reach *Rioja*. Can any place be more private than this? You are at *Rioja*, answers the Muletier. This is the middle of the town, and yonder is the Jesuits college behind those trees. The Muletier was in the right; for the college stood in the middle of a little wood over against them. The father was extremely surprised, and something ashamed, that he had lain down to rest in the very heart of the town. This account I had from himself.

Not long ago the *Corregidor* of this same town took it into his head to set up an equipage; accordingly he ordered a small coach to be made; and as soon as it was ready, he was quite impatient to appear in his vehicle, and to coach it about the town. Whilst he



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was driving thro' one of these little groves that separate the different quarters of this city, a branch of a tree struck into the coach, and put out one of his eyes. Almost all the *Spanish* towns in these countries are built after this model.

As to *Buenos Ayres*, though you may see there, as you do elsewhere, houses scattered up and down without any order, and surrounded with trees, yet the buildings about the center of the city form pretty fair regular streets. The old houses, it is true, are but of clay, and have only a ground floor; insomuch that it is not very long ago since one of our lay-brothers, sent from *Europe* to build us a church, found means to make and to burn brick in this country, where at present they reckon upwards of sixty brick-kilns; and the same brother contrived to make lime. Most of the new houses built since that time are of stone and well cemented; and some of them are two stories high. Some years after the Missionaries brought over two lay-brothers well skilled in architecture. They have finished our church, which is very beautiful, and have built since the churches of the *Fathers of Mercy*, and the *Franciscans*, after plans of their own, which would certainly be a credit to skilful European architects. As they are lofty, and each of them is adorned with a cupola and high steeples, they yield a good prospect at a distance. The same lay-brothers have, by the  
Bishop's

Bishop's orders, raised a portal before the Cathedral, of a very grand design. They had also undertaken at the request of the magistrates, to build a town house. But as the edifice they had begun would run to greater charges than the town could then allow, the carrying on of this edifice is put off to another time. Another considerable piece of service, which these lay-brothers have done for the *Spaniards* in *America*, has been in teaching many Negroes, whom they employed, to be masons; and who are so far masters, that now it is sufficient to shew them but a plan, to have it tolerably well executed. Thus *Buenos Ayres* is beautified and improves every day, and will soon be in a condition to please even an *European*.

This town lies under the 32d degree of South Latitude, the air is very temperate, and is also cooled by the winds that blow constantly on the great river the *Paraguay*.

The adjacent plains are vast deserts. There are only a few huts scattered here and there near the town. Very little wood grows in these plains; but a sufficient quantity for firing and other uses comes from the Islands formed by the River. The Peach-tree is almost the only tree that bears fruit in the neighbourhood of *Buenos Ayres*. The vine cannot possibly thrive for the great number of ants that nip it as soon as it shoots; and no wine is drank here, but what comes by sea from *Spain*, or by land from *Mendoza*, a city  
of

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of *Cbili*, situated at the foot of the *Cordilleras* nine hundred miles off *Buenos Ayres*.

The desert plains I have mentioned, are, it is true, full of horned cattle and wild horses. While I was at *Buenos Ayres*, an *Indian*, who deals with the *Spanish* towns, sold eight horses to an acquaintance of mine for a cask of brandy, and they would not have come so dear, had they not been extremely beautiful. As to common and ordinary horses, you may have as many as you please for a little more than two shillings. These may be had still cheaper for fetching them from the plains where they graze by thousands together. The whole difficulty lies in catching them.

But the horn cattle are far more numerous ; as may be judged from the quantities of hides sent to *Europe*. This article is in a manner the whole of their trade. The *Spanish* ships that come every three years to *Buenos Ayres* go back with forty or fifty thousand hides ; but the *English* and *Portuguese* smugglers take off yearly a much greater number. It is to be observed that they only take Bull-hides, and those must be of a statutable size to be admitted as saleable ; and what comes under the size determined by law is thrown among the refuse. Hence to send fifty thousand hides to *Europe* they must slaughter eighty thousand Bulls at least, of which they only take the hide, the tongue, and the fat which serves them instead of oil, lard, and butter.

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Such heaps of carcasses lying exposed on the ground might infect the air ; but it seems that Providence has provided against this danger. When the slaughter is over, whole clouds of ravens almost of the size of eagles, and other birds of prey called here *Caracaras*, like the raven except the colour, are seen flocking to the place. They devour the carcasses in a few days, so as scarce to leave any remains. I do not mention here the cattle slaughtered for eating ; they have hardly any other meat at *Buenos Ayres* : nor the cattle destroyed by lions and tygers ; the lions especially, that commonly kill ten or more calves for one they eat. It is not to be conceived how the wild cattle that have so many enemies subsist in these parts.

Perhaps you may want to know, how the *Spaniards* go to work for the slaughter of such numbers. A score of hunters on horseback go to the places, where there is most wild cattle to be found ; they have in their hand a long stick, and at the end of it an iron shaped like an half moon, and very sharp. They make use of this to hit a hind leg of the beast they pursue ; and they are so dexterous that they seldom fail of hamstringing the Bull, by cutting the sinew above the joint. The poor beast soon after falls to the ground, and is disabled from rising again. The hunter instead of making any stay, follows the others full gallop, and in the same manner disables all he can overtake.

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take. Twenty men in about the space of an hour will lay seven or eight hundred on the field. When the hunters are tired of this exercise, they alight to take a little rest; and then without any danger kill the beasts they have disabled. After they have taken the hide, and sometimes the tongue and fat, they leave the rest to the ravens.

Their indiscretion on this head cannot but be blamed. They already feel it; and the number of these useful animals is greatly diminished. A beast that formerly was not worth a shilling, will now rise to the value of two or three. It would be more to the purpose to exterminate the wild dogs that have increased prodigiously near *Buenos Ayres*. They live in burrows under ground, very easily known by the heaps of bones about the holes. There is danger of their falling upon the inhabitants, when they can find no more wild cattle. The governour thought it deserved his notice, and sent a great many soldiers to shoot the wild dogs, of which they dispatched great numbers. But at their return from this expedition, the town's children, who are extremely mal-a-pert, insulted them. They nick named them *Mataperros*, or dog-killers; and thus restrained by a mistaken point of honour, the soldiers declined always returning to this kind of chace.

I reserve for another Letter what I have farther to say concerning this. And in that

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I shall send you an account of our journey from *Buenos Ayres* to our Missions. Remember me in your prayers. Farewell, I am &c.

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### L E T T E R   I I I .

From the *Reduſion* of St. Mary in the Missions  
of the *Uraguay*, April 25th, 1730.

*Dear Brother,*

**N**OTHING now remains to fulfil the promise I made, but to give you an account of our passage from *Buenos Ayres* to the Missions, and to speak of the people with whom I perform the functions of a Missionary. It may be long before I have another opportunity of letting you hear from me. The register ships from *Buenos Ayres* to *Europe* go but once in three years. Besides a person that has some thousands of souls under his charge, spends whole days in preaching, hearing confessions, and assisting the sick. To learn a language that has no manner of affinity with those spoken in *Europe*, requires much time and application. If some years should pass without your hearing from me, impute not my silence to any neglect or coldness, of which with regard to you I am incapable ; but be persuaded that it comes from  
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no other cause, but what I have here mentioned.

We set out from *Buenos Ayres* the thirteenth of *July*, 1729; and went six leagues by land to the banks of a small river called *Rio de las Conchas*. This serves for a harbour to the *Indian Balsas*. A *Balsa* is a sort of raft made of two *Canoes*, which are large trunks of trees made hollow. They are joined together by means of light rafters that bear equally on both *Canoes*, to which they are very strongly fastened: they cover the rafter with *Bamboos*; and on this a small cabin is made with matting on this kind of floor, where there is a room large enough for a bed, with other furniture absolutely necessary for a traveller. Fifteen *Balsas*, and above three hundred *Indians* waited our arrival. They received us with drums and fifes, and the greatest demonstrations and transports of joy. We embarked in very fine weather, which continued eight days, tho' it was then the depth of winter. We took up that time in crossing to the other side of the *Plata*, which being there above ten leagues in breadth, the *Balsas* cannot go directly over. The *Indians* dare not even venture too far from land; a squall of wind would be enough to overset the *Balsas*. They keep coasting, and when a gale arises they take speedily to the shore.

In this manner we sailed up the river fifty leagues from the place we set off; and as we  
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met with many islands in the way, we crossed from one to the other till we reached an island that is not above two or three leagues off the opposite shore. Hence we fell down the stream upon the point of land, which reaches between the *Plata* and *Uruguay* as far as the meeting of the two rivers.

After we had got over this danger, we were in the *Uruguay* one of the capital rivers in *America*. Where it falls into the *Plata*, the river is so broad that the eye can scarce reach from one side to the other, even in the clearest day. And over against the *Reduction* where I am placed, 200 leagues from the mouth of the river, it is an hour's work to cross over.

If the *Uruguay* is not so full of sand banks as the *Plata*, it is thick set with rocks that lie hid just under water, and are not less dangerous; and for this reason no *Tartanes*, or other boats with sails, such as go on the *Parana*, are used here; the *Balsas* are not so much exposed to danger. When they strike on a rock, their lightness makes the shock less violent; besides they only go with oars: and the *Canoes* on which they are laid being only of one solid piece, are not so apt to split as other boats. The *Balsas* are so light; that they touch the points of rocks without any hurt; but they wear out in a short time.

We stopt some days near a little river called the *Rio de las Vaccas*, to take in provisions of flesh meat. A *Spanish* gentleman has made

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a small plantation there, where he has within an estate of about thirty or forty miles in extent, which he has made his own, twenty or thirty thousand head of cattle : he sells cattle to all that pass that way. We purchased seventy of a surprising size in height and bulk, at less than seventeen pence sterling a head. This is the standing price all over the country, if you except *Buenos Ayres*. Thus each *Balsa* in company had to its share better than four or five. But, what you will scarce believe, all this provision was only enough for eight or ten days passage to the *Reduction* of *St. Dominic*, where they laid in again a fresh store of victuals. The *Indians* are insatiable eaters. I saw the crew of one *Balsa* eat up a beast of a good size in less than a day. What surprises me is, that indigestions are not so frequent among them, as in *Europe*. And yet nothing is liker to cause them, than the manner of dressing their meat. They knock down a beast, that moment they cut the throat, others flay it, or cut it in quarters. All this does not take up a quarter of an hour. Then a great fire is made near the place ; they cut down branches of trees which they shape into a sort of spit ; they put three or four pieces of meat on each spit ; and set the spits on end round about the fire. In a quarter of an hour they draw the meat more than half raw, and eat it sitting about the fire. In a couple of hours all is digested, and they are as hungry



hungry as ever. In sailing up the *Paraguay* you meet several little rivers on the right and left, where the *Indians* put in when the day light begins to fail, that the *Balsas* may be out of danger in the night.

The first thing the *Indians* took care of when they got on shore, was to dress up an oratory of the boughs of trees, where they placed a picture of the blessed Lady and those of other Saints, to whom they had a particular devotion. After a *Salute* with their fife and beat of drum, they sung the *ave maris stella* ; then recited the Rosary and Litanies, and concluded their evening prayer with an act of contrition, which a Missionary pronounced aloud, with whom they joined both in heart and by word of mouth. How great was our comfort to hear on all sides the praises of the Creator resounding in those barbarous countries !

Prayers being over, their next care was to provide their supper. They lighted up fires, prepared new spits, spitted their meat, and devoured it a moment after. Then they spread hides and skins of tygers on the grass round the fire ; here they slept very soundly all the night. The fire not only warmed them, and prevented the bad effects of the dampness of the ground, but kept off the tygers.

The *Indians* were stirring very early in the morning, and began the day with a hearty  
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meal. After saying their prayers all together, they proceeded on their voyage, and plied their oars till noon; then they put ashore to take their dinner and a little rest; and re-imbarked at the first order given by the Missionaries.

The river *Uruguay* is very pisculent. I was well pleased to see the *Indians* shoot several fish with their arrows. We saw some sea wolves, and a kind of sea-hog, called *Capi-gua*, from the name of an herb, which they love mightily. They are easily tamed: I had a present of two; they soon grew excessively troublesome with their familiarity. The banks of the river are almost every where covered with woods. There are Palm-trees, and several others not known in *Europe*, that keep their verdure all the year; and birds of all sizes and colours. To describe them would take up too much time; but I will not omit mentioning one, singular for his smallness, but more so for the beauty of his plumage. It is less by half than a wren. The colour is green inclining to gold. He flies the whole day, and feeds only on leaves, which he sucks, born up by his little wings. His feathers keep all their lustre even when he is dead; and the *Spaniards* frequently send these small birds in letters to *Spain*.

These woods are full of deer, roebucks, and wild-boars. Forty of our *Indians* killed thirty five of the latter only with stakes. But  
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the most common among the animals are tygers. They often sit on the water side to gaze at the *Balsas* as they pass. The tygers here are both larger and fiercer, than they are in *Africa*. Not long ago the *Indians* brought me the skin of a tyger they had killed. I had it set up on end, to represent the animal reared on its hinder legs to attack its enemy. You know I am pretty tall; all I could do with stretching out my arm was to reach his mouth. The tyger was indeed of an extraordinary size. But generally speaking, I found the tygers in these parts bigger, than any I had formerly seen in the Duke of *Parma's* menagery: and they are far more beautiful, as the ground of their skin is near as bright as gold. They commonly avoid hunters; but when they are wounded with an arrow, or ball, if they do not fall instantly, they rush with incredible fury on the person that has wounded them; and it is pretended they can single him out amongst numbers. Father *Michael Ximenes*, superiour of these Missions, was an ocular witness of this, as he told me himself. He travelled with three *Indians*, who saw a tyger go into a little wood that stood by itself; they resolved to kill him. The Missionary stepped aside, where he could observe without danger what passed. The *Indians*, used to this sort of chace, or combat, disposed themselves in this manner. Two had spears, and the third a gun, who



placed himself between the two others. They advanced in this order, and went round the wood till they perceived the tyger. The *Indian*, who had the gun fired and shot the tyger in the head. *F. Ximenes* related, that in the same instant he saw the fire and the wild beast stuck with the two lances. For as soon as the tyger found he was wounded, he flew at the man that shot him. The two other *Indians* aware of the consequence had their lances ready to stop his career. In effect they both pierced his sides with surprising dexterity, and held him up a while in the air.

The country is much infested with serpents. One of these entered our superior's *Balsa*, either by sliding along a rope tied about a tree to hold the *Balsa* fast, or coming over a plank that lay as a bridge to the shore. The Father, who could not get out of his cabin without passing over the serpent, was in no small fright; till the *Indians* in the *Balsa* hastening to his relief slew this dangerous animal. Many *Indians* die with the bite of these serpents. But it is said they commonly escape with life, when they can quickly apply the remedy which providence has prepared of certain herbs, especially the spikenard, which some parts of *Paraguay* produce in plenty. But when they are bit by the rattle snake it is confidently assured that the case admits no cure. I have only seen one of this sort; he

was

was of a monstrous size. Our *Indians* spied him among some orange trees that they sat under ; and killed him on the spot. I examined with great attention the small bones at the end of his tail, and which as he crawls along make a noise not unlike a small bell, and is called the rattle ; it is said that a new bone comes every year with another joint.

Notwithstanding so many dangers, our *Indians* no sooner put to shore, but they entered these thick woods. In the twinkling of an eye, it may be said, every band got a small place ready before their respective *Balsas*, where they eat, and then slept heartily with amazing security. This is no doubt a remnant of their former way of life, and of their custom of living in the woods. I thought it proper to acquaint you at first with these particulars, that you may form a general idea of the country, and that I may be more at liberty to dwell upon circumstances that have a nearer relation to our voyage.

We had not yet left the plantation of the *Spanish* gentleman I mentioned, when a violent tempest, that came on a sudden, overturned part of our provisions into the river : luckily we happened to be all ashore, on account of the cold weather. All the *Balsas* sunk except one or two ; and there was a good deal of difficulty in righting them again, especially mine ; which was of necessity taken to pieces, in order to refit one of the *Canoes*,

split with the violence of the waves ; the *Uruguay* being then like a raging sea.

But what gave us the greatest trouble was to find that two of our *Indians* were taken with the small pox. A distemper which is here what the plague is in *Europe*. We separated them immediately from the others, and we were to leave them, where they were, with people to attend them. We promised ourselves that the distemper would not spread among the other *Indians*, and we went on again with our voyage.

In eight days we arrived at the *Reduction* of *St. Dominic*, under the care of the religious of *St. Francis*. The Curate was a very holy elderly person, who received us with all the charity that was possible ; and as our arrival was on the eve of *St. Ignatius*, he ordered the bells to be rung to warn the feast of the next day ; and which he celebrated with great solemnity. His and our *Indians* joined equally in the honour of the day.

We were in conversation with this worthy Missionary, when we were informed, that the small pox had broke out on three of our *Indians*. One died that very day. A *Spaniard* was so good as to take the two others to his plantation, which was not far distant from *St. Dominic's*. As we apprehended what happened but too soon, that the contagion would spread among our people ; the superior sent off an express over land to *Yapeju*,



*Yapeju*, the nearest of our *Reductions*. He gave the express a letter, wherein he informed our Fathers of the situation we were in, and begged they would send some *Indians* to meet us with provisions, since we run a risk of being detained in the way, if the small pox increased among us. After taking these precautions, we re embarked. We travelled some days, and then crossed to the other side of the river with hopes of being better supplied with provisions: for the infidels, who live on the banks of the *Uruguay*, bring of their own accord flesh meat provisions to the passengers, and barter them away for cloth, tobacco, or some such like commodities. In effect we soon discovered a troop that came to offer us the game they had hunted. Almost all the country, that lies between the *Parana* and *Uruguay*, is inhabited by numerous nations of Barbarians. The most known are the *Bobanas*, the *Meridanes*, the *Manchados*, the *Jaros*, and the *Charuas*. These last are the most populous. The *Charuas* go very thinly clad, and have no fixt abode. They are generally seen on horseback, armed with a bow, and a club, or lance. They manage their horses with surprising address. What I say of the *Charuas*, is equally applicable to the rest of the savage nations in *Paraguay*.

We saw one day, when we had passed over again to the right side of the river, crowds of *Guanoas* coming towards us. This is also a very populous nation, that inhabits

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a considerable part of the lands lying between the *Uraguay* and the sea. I observed in the crowd a boy laid at length on his horse, as on a bed. His head rested on the horse's neck, and his legs crossed on the buttocks. In this posture he looked at us very attentively. His whole dress was a sort of scarf that came from his right shoulder under his left arm, and on which was fastened a leather budget, very likely to carry his provisions. After he had gazed on us some time he started up and flew away like lightning. The swiftness with which he rode out of sight was to be admired the more, as he had neither saddle nor stirrup nor spur, not even a switch to manage his horse. But to return to the *Charuas*; as they are constantly exposed to all weathers, their complexion is much tanned; their hair is very long and greatly in disorder. The chiefs of the people are easily distinguished by small pieces of glass set in their chins. Many have scarce more than a finger or two left on each hand, from a custom they have of lopping off a joint from their fingers, as often as a relation dies. This barbarous and ridiculous ceremony begins to wear out among most of the people. The women have the charge of providing all necessaries for the family. They carry all the household goods, when they remove to another place. Besides this burthen, they commonly have two or three children on

on their backs, and always go on foot, while the husband rides at ease with no load but his arms and some victuals. They cultivate no lands; wild fruits and cattle, which abound in the country, are the whole of their food. The *Pampas*, who are neighbours to *Buenos Ayres*, eat, they say, as much horse flesh as beef.

The continual roving life of these people, is one of the greatest obstacles to their conversion. Many attempts have been made, but in vain, to bring them to live together in a body; and if they have sometimes yielded to the pressing solicitations of the Missionaries, it never held long. Two *Reductions* were at length founded, one among the *Charuas* under the name and protection of St. *Andrew*, and the other among the *Guanoas*, under the title of *Jesus* and *Mary*. One morning, among these last, the bell was rung as usual to call the people to church, and the Missionary was surprised that no one came. He could not imagine the cause of this extraordinary event, but going out of the house, he found that all the inhabitants had in the night retired into the woods. The other *Reduction* ended much in the same manner. But however some of these savages are now and then converted, and come to settle in the old *Reductions*. The Missionaries wearied out with all this bad success; have turned their eyes towards the *Guagnanes*, a  
people



people at a very great distance within land, and where they hope for a more plentiful harvest.

Two things contribute to fix the *Jaros* and *Charuas* in their obstinacy, one is the hatred they bear to the *Spaniards*. They have not forgot what the maintaining their liberty cost them, and they are always in fear of being made slaves. The other is the irregular lives of the same *Spaniards*. The savages who are now in peace with them, trade freely with their towns. The corrupted morals which the *Indians* see among them, are made use of as a pretext to be more and more hardened in their infidelity.

Several apostates also take refuge among the infidels. All the *Reduction Indians* are not fervent christians. Persons of irregular conduct, conscious on one side, that if they do not amend, they shall be severely corrected; and on the other, unwilling to return to the right road, are soon determined to go over to the infidels. And some *Spaniards* take the same step, either to escape the hands of justice, or to live more at large. It is easy to believe that these wretched deserters give no very advantageous idea of the christian religion to the infidels.

As we stopt one day at the end of a wood, a band of *Charuas* came up to offer us some victuals. Their chiefs had all of them the name of some saint. Their head *Cacique* was

was named *Don Simon*. Nothing could come up to the oddity of his dress. He had on a sort of cloak made up of several patches; some of them old scraps of gilt leather; and he had in his hand a short truncheon set off with latten, which he wielded with great gravity. His cloak particularly, seemed to inspire him with no small stock of vanity. Two others went by the name one of *John*, and the other of *Francis*. This last spoke *Spanish* tolerably well. They were both the sons of a most worthy old man, who was the example of the *Reduction* of *St. Francis Borgia*. *Don Simon* desirous to testify his gratitude to a Missionary, who had presented him with some trifles from *Europe*, offered him half a calf, that he sat upon, and served him by way of saddle. Some of the Missionaries offered to discourse with the infidels about religion; but they answered coolly, that they had relations, and that it was not lawful to forsake them. An infidel being warmly pressed by a Missionary, and at last being told, that if he did not become a christian, he certainly would not escape hell flames; so much the better, replied the *Indian*, I shall not be cold after my death. With such answers they often baffle the zeal of the most fervent preachers of the gospel.

We made great days journeys, for fear of being stopt on the road by the small pox. Our fear was but too well grounded. Three  
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or four of our *Indians* were sick. We put them in a *Canoe* a part, with orders to follow us at a distance. But all our precautions were to no purpose. The twentieth of *August* fourteen *Indians* of one *Balsa* took the distemper ; and the contagion began to spread among the rest. Judge how perplexed we were ; we had a hundred leagues to go up the river before we could reach any of our *Missions*. We could have no relief from the infidels, who never appeared after they found we had infected persons among us. We resolved to keep going forward, and to get as near as we could to *Yapeju*, that we might still be at a less distance to receive the provisions that would be sent. The sick we left in the place where we then were. This resolution was not without difficulties. F. *Ximenes*, our superiour, was the only one who understood the language. If he came with us, all the poor people who had taken the infection would be left without one to administer the sacraments, or to assist them in their necessities. If the Father stayed behind with the sick, the *Indians* of the other *Balsas* were exposed to the same danger, who might also fall sick and want a confessor.

We were in this perplexity, when ten *Indians* generously devoted themselves to the service of the infected ; and without delay they repaired to the sick. F. *Ximenes* administered the sacraments to all even in health, to prevent



prevent all accidents ; he left them plenty of provision, and then came up to join us. The ten *Indians* took such care of the sick, that they saved above half by a kind of miracle. They buried the dead, and then put the convalescents into two *Canoes* : for the *Balsa* that was left was taken to pieces. They crept by degrees after the main body. The ten generous Neophytes fell sick in their turn, and all but one went to receive in heaven the reward of their heroic charity.

In the mean time we reached the pass of *Itu*, or *Ariciffe* ; it is called indifferently by either name. Here the *Uruguay* is barred with a chain of rocks, from the tops of which the waters fall with such noise and force, that it is heard at several miles distance. The rocks divide the river into several streams, and the *Indians* observe which are the most convenient, that is, where the current falls more gradually, and consequently with less force. And yet it is not to be said what difficulty they meet with in this passage. The *Indians* fasten ropes to the *Balsas* to draw them up. Some are on the shore, others on the point of a rock ; most stand in the water, and push the *Balsa* forward, or heave it on their shoulders. In this manner they draw or carry it from rock to rock, till they get it into deep water. This difficult pass sometimes stops them two whole days. The contagion began to break out again. Most of  
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the *Balsas* took into a small river that discharges itself into the *Uraguay*, about half a mile below the fall of *Ariciffe*. Those that came in our *Balsa*, and some others, judged it best to get immediately over this troublesome pass, while they continued in health. Besides they desired to keep at a distance from the infected; but it was all in vain. In a few days we had sixty down, and soon after a hundred and fourteen. And now it was impossible to get farther. We dispatched an *Indian* by land to *Yapeju*, to acquaint our Fathers with our situation, and to hasten the supplies we expected, and of which we daily found the want more and more.

We took all imaginable care of the sick, and now never left them. The crew of each *Balsa* made one or two straw-hutts, to preserve the sick from the injuries of the weather, and to separate them still more from those in health. F. *Ximenes* remained with the bulk of our *Indians* a league below. He came by land to hear the confessions of our sick, and then returned to his distempered *Indians*. I had not yet administered the holy viaticum, nor the extreme unction. I can assure you, that I made a very good apprenticeship in a very short time. For one morning only after I had said Mass, on a portable altar, as we did every day, I carried the last sacraments to thirteen *Indians*. The sick lay in heaps. To administer them, I was obliged to bend

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to the ground, and to be in the midst of them with scarce sufficient room to stir in, and to use the greatest caution not to hurt the sick when they were to be moved, in order to receive the holy oils. They had scarce any appearance left of a human figure. I own this was very hard and loathsome work. The *European* small pox can give you but a faint idea of what it is here. An *Indian* was to be buried; they took him by his legs to draw him out of his cabin, the skin split off from the flesh, and was all that was left in the hands of the christians, who undertook this charitable office; whence some judgment may be formed of the malignity of this distemper.

At length all the *Balsas* with the small remains of the *Indians* got over the cataract of *Ariciffe*. Hovels were erected immediately at the foot of a hill for the reception of the sick. They were twenty four in number, and all full. At a distance it resembled a small village of the infidel *Indians*, that appears like a row of huts. We put up for several days our most ardent prayers to God, that he would vouchsafe to withdraw the severe scourge that afflicted us. But heaven seemed deaf to our vows. No doubt this rigorous novitiate was to prepare us for the labours of the Mission, and to recompense the zeal and fervour of these good *Indians*. For they died like true predestinated souls.

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As soon as they found they were struck with the disorder, they desired to receive the sacraments ; and they did so, with wonderful devotion. Not a word of complaint ever escaped from them ; all that was heard was only the names of *Jesus* and *Mary*, which they pronounced with faint and expiring voices.

I was giving the extreme unction to an *Indian* just on the point of death ; another that lay near him with his face under the cover, as the *Indian* custom is, called to me, and as he spoke a little *Spanish*, he desired he might have my crucifix to kiss, for obtaining the plenary indulgence. I immediately granted his request. The good soul thanked me in the most expressive terms, and promised to remember me in heaven. In fine he said so many things, and all more effecting one than the other whilst he continued to speak, that I melted into tears. The good *Indian* expired some moments after with the greatest sentiments of piety.

Another *Indian*, a man of years, and of authority among them, lay at the point of death. He had all the people of the *Balsa* called in, and assured them with a voice loud enough to be heard by all, that he died with the greatest content, as it was in conducting Missionaries to his country. He conjured his country-men never to abandon the Father on any pretence whatever. For, said he,  
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tho' it should cost you your lives, you will be sure at least not to die without the sacraments. And I can assure you, from my own experience, that it is the greatest comfort a christian can have in his last moments.

Most of the Neophytes expressed themselves to the same effect before they died; and their dying words affected the other *Indians* very sensibly. Not one was tempted to desert to the infidels, tho' on all sides they saw themselves surrounded with the horrors of death. Nothing was easier to be done, they would by that means have avoided the distemper, and being reduced to want. They kept with us, and gave this signal proof of their constancy. They were almost all struck one after another with the infection, and not dismayed in the least. A Missionary found an *Indian* under a tree that appeared in great trouble, and asked him the cause. *I weep,* says the Neophyte, *to see the Fathers expose themselves in this desert, far from their country, to so many dangers and inconveniences, for the sake of assisting us poor Indians.*

The Neophytes indeed were sensibly struck with seeing the Missionaries watching with the infected night and day, and procuring them all necessaries for body and soul with so much zeal; depriving themselves of their covers, and other things necessary in so inconvenient a season and place, in favour of their dear

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Neophytes,

Neophytes. But it must be granted that the *Indians*, and particularly the Infirmarians whose duty is to wait on the sick, were not at all behind hand with us in assiduity and attendance. I was more than once obliged to moderate the indiscreet zeal of our infirmarian. He scarce allowed himself in the night a few moments of broken sleep. Several others devoted themselves with the same fervour to these pious exercises.

An *Indian* called *Ticu*, who spent the day and the night in attending the sick and burying the dead, distinguished himself above all the rest. The hard labour he found in making graves without proper implements, swelled his arm to that degree that he had no use of it. *F. Ximenes* having advised him to take some care of himself, as his fatigue certainly exposed him to great danger of catching the distemper. *Father*, says the *Indian*, *God has power enough to preserve me from the plague, if he pleases; if not, his holy will be done. I am an infirmarian, all my time belongs to the sick.* At last he took the small pox himself, and was so roughly handled, that it looked as if all the sufferings of those he had buried had fallen upon him. All, especially the Missionaries, were greatly concerned for the recovery of his health, which God was pleased to restore in behalf of others that were sick, and whom he assisted as before, from the time he was able to get up.

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Mean while we were reduced to very great want. At last the long looked for supplies arrived on two *Balsas* loaden with provisions from *Yapeju*. Our Fathers had very prudently charged the *Indians*, who conducted the *Balsas*, not to approach too near us, and especially to avoid all communication with the infected. They had ordered them to stop at some distance higher, and to land the supplies, of which they were to send us notice. They stopt at a place three leagues above us, but were several days without letting us hear from them: for they expected us to send for the provisions they had brought. One day two of our *Indians* went a hunting that way, and met with one of the *Balsas*. They came directly in all haste to give us this intelligence; otherwise we could never have guessed that we were so near relief. Some days after we received by land a drove of cattle, and we begun to revive again.

But new trials trod very close on the heels of the comfort granted from heaven. A storm much more violent than the first surprised us. Most of the *Balsas* sunk, and were so damaged, that six of them were to be taken to pieces. Part of our new provisions was lost. One of the Fathers endeavouring to stop a little trunk carried down by the stream, fell into the river, and narrowly escaped being drowned. But the most sensible loss,

was the holy oils, which we could never find again.

Tygers invited by the smell of the flesh meat came after the storm. Our Missionaries met several in an adjacent wood; but they came off safe with only being frightened. These animals often visited us at night. A tyger came into a hut where two sick persons were lodged; very luckily there was a piece of beef by them; the tyger carried off the beef without doing them any hurt. Another tyger boarded a *Canoe*, where a man lay under a hide. The man feeling himself trampled upon with the feet of this animal, made a loud cry; the tyger was frightened, and retired. Our *Indians* killed a brace of tygers, and brought us a cub about a month old, that they had taken alive. As little as he was, he foamed with rage, roared perpetually, and flew at all that came near him, even those that fed him. We found it was impossible to tame him; and for fear he might be the cause of our being visited by other tygers, we drowned him in the river.

Aunts joined the tygers. The *Balsas* having continued long in the same place, thousands of those insects found ways to get in among us, and were extremely troublesome. Patience was the only remedy in the midst of so many evils.

It was now three months since we left  
*Buenos*

*Buenos Ayres.* We had spent two with the sick in this desert. From day to day we expected orders from the F. Superiour of the Missions, to whom we had sent a most circumstantial account of our present situation. Of three hundred and forty *Indians*, who came to take us up at *Buenos Ayres*, there were only forty two who never had the small pox before ; a hundred and seventy nine died of it, and the others were upon the recovery. For some time we had scarce any sick among us. Had we stayed where we were, till all had been visited with the distemper, we should never have done : for contagious disorders are never so general, but some escape. Several Missionaries were much out of health. It was apprehended that two especially would not be in a condition of proceeding, if they staid longer in this frightful desert. The superiour on the receipt of our letter sent us a Missionary and four *Balsas*. He had given him orders to stay with *F. Ximenes* and the *Indians*, till they had performed their full quarantine ; for fear the contagion might spread again among the *Reductions* ; as it happened in the year 1718, when it swept off above fifty thousand *Indians*. He also ordered all the Missionaries who had been till then among the sick, to change their cloaths, to burn the old ones, and to put on those he sent.

Whilst this was transacting, F. Provin-



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cial arrived. He had found time enough to return from *Cordova*, and to overtake us, after he had embarked at *Buenos Ayres* to visit the Missions of *Uraguay*. He could not hear the account of the accidents we met with, without being very much affected. He had brought us from *Europe*; he looked upon us as his children, and had a particular affection for us. We made all the haste we could to reembark, and to go with him. Our first care was to put on the cloaths that were brought for us. They were of cotton died black. We got on board three *Balsas*, with so little room that we could scarcely stir. It was not so with the cloaths and shoes made by persons who never saw us, and who spared no stuff.

We took the road of the Missions with the provincial, who comforted the *Indians* before he set off. He ordered the forty *Indians*, that were in good health by themselves in two *Balsas*, and the convalescents to the number of a hundred and twenty one in five others. But they were not to come on till two or three days after us: and they were ordered to make such marches as would only bring them within thirty leagues of *Yapeju*, when their quarantine would be at an end.

And thus our hardships ended. About the middle of *November* we got to the *Reduction*

*duction* of the three kings, or *Yapeju*. It consists of about twelve hundred families. I will not take up time with describing to you the joy of the inhabitants at our arrival, or the hearty welcome we found the two or three days we staid among them. We parted here to go to our respective *Reductions* to which we were appointed. St. *Mary's* eighty leagues above *Yapeju* fell to my lot. I arrived there the first of *December* 1729, three years and four months after I left *Bologna*. I was kindly received there by F. *James Ignatius Altamirano*. He is a venerable septuagenarian of a noble birth, but more distinguished by his virtue and learning. It would be very difficult to express the demonstrations of kindness, which I met with from the *Indians*. They came a great way to meet me, and flocked about to see me. One kissed my hand, another wished me joy on my safe arrival among them, after so many dangers. Some thanked me for coming so far off, and crossing the *Paraguazu*, that is, the sea; and quitting my native country, *gnandi rabu pai*, that is, for their sakes. The comfort I felt to find that I was at last arrived at the so long wish'd for term, made me soon forget all past hardships. The only thing that gave me some pain, was the difficulty of the language. I have applied myself so assiduously to it that for these two

months I have catechised the children. 'Tis all that I can do at present, and is not perhaps to be esteemed the least service we can do in this country. I have always a numerous audience. The number of children in this *Reduction* amounts to 1962, 1002 are boys. Tho' I now and then mistake one word for another, I find they understand me pretty well, as I do them by their answers. Those that answer best, I reward with pictures, and dismiss all my people well satisfied.

Let us break off here, if you please. For in reality, were I to begin writing about the *Indians* of our *Reductions*, there could be no end. I have already sent you a minute account of these Missions; as far as I can yet see, it is very faithful. Adieu, I am, &c.

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*Extract of a Voyage to the East-Indies through Paraguay, Chili, &c. By F. Florentine de Bourges, a Capuchin, 1712, from the 13th Vol. of the Lettres edifiantes.*

**A**FTER a month's wandering, I perceived from the banks of a river, a spacious plain, and in the middle of it, a large steeple. This sight cheered up my heart; and, as we easily believe what we  
with,



wish, I presently persuaded myself this was *Cordova*, whither I thought myself arrived by a very comfortable mistake, tho' I had at first gone quite the contrary way, but I was soon undeceived. A few *Indians*, whom I chanced to meet, informed me in the best *Spanish* they could, that it was a town of *Paraguay*, which took its name from *St. Francis Xavier*. I was not sorry for my mistake, knowing the Fathers of the society cultivate this Mission, and did not in the least doubt, but I should meet with the same charity, of which I had received so many specimens at *Buenos Ayres*. Wherefore I entered the town, and went strait to the church, which faces a large square, where the chief streets end, and are as strait as a line. The Missionaries had no sooner notice of my arrival, but they all immediately came to the church to receive me; the superior presented me holy water. The bells were set a ringing, and the children, who were called together in an instant, sung the usual prayers, to thank God for my safe arrival. Prayers being ended, I was conducted to my lodging, which were very convenient. I told them in short the cause of my journey to *Buenos Ayres*, and the several incidents of it, how I had mist my road from *Santa Fè* to *Cordova*, and my other adventures through which providence had conducted me to *their house*; here they took me  
up

up and desired me very obligingly rather to call it *my own*, where I was master ; assuring me withal they would do their best to refresh me after my late fatigues, After this they embraced me with such tenderness and cordiality, that my tears were the only acknowledgment I was able to return. I had resolved not to stay above five or six days here, but it was a full fortnight before I could possibly get away ; and I had much ado to withstand their pressing instances to make a longer stay. This little community consists of seven priests, all men of the greatest virtue. Prayer, studies, the administration of the sacraments, and preaching, is their continual employ ; all their relaxation consists in about an hour's conversation after meals, which is also frequently interrupted by the exercise of some Missionary function which they go about, as soon as they are called, with most wonderful zeal. Their method of cultivating these new christians, made such an impression upon me, that I have it always fresh in my mind. This is the rule observed in the *Reduction* where I was, and which consists of about 30,000 inhabitants.

At break of day the bell rings to church. One of the Missionaries says the morning Prayers, and Mass ; after which, each one goes about his business. The children from seven or eight years old to twelve, are obliged

liged to go to school, where they learn to read and write; they are also taught their catechism, the prayers of the church, and the other duties of a christian. The girls also have their schools, and mistresses of the most approved virtue, who teach them their prayers, and catechism, to sew, spin, and other employments of their sex. At eight in the morning boys and girls go to church, where having said their prayers, they recite the catechism with a clear and loud voice; the boys standing in order within the chancel begin, and the girls in the body of the church repeat what the boys said. Soon after they hear mass, then go on with their catechism, if they have not yet finished it, and go to school by two and two. The modesty and devotion of these children made an uncommon impression upon me. About sun set the bell rings for evening prayer. They say their beads, one side of the church answering the other; there is scarce any one who omits this good custom: and those, who are indispensably obliged to absent themselves, never fail saying them at home. In *Lent* and *Advent*, there is a general catechism on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*. But as the church cannot hold all the town, three Missionaries attended with bands of children, go two or three days in the week to catechise in several quarters of the town. They always end their catechism  
with



with an act of contrition. On *Sundays* and *Holydays* there are three high-masses : the first at six ; the second at half an hour past seven ; and the third at nine. At each mass there is a sermon. The confraternities of the *Scapular*, and *Rosary*, are established amongst them ; but what struck me most, was that of the most holy sacrament : On *Thursdays* benediction is given with the blessed sacrament according to leave granted by his holiness ; and to see the concourse of people at church, you would think all *Thursdays* the year round were holidays. Whenever the *viaticum* is carried to the sick, a set number of the confraternity accompany it with torches. Their faith is so lively, that if they are guilty of any considerable misdemeanor, the most sensible punishment is to be deprived of that honour. There is scarce any one who does not confess and communicate once a month ; some chosen souls, such as the holy ghost inspires with a desire of living up as near as may be to evangelical perfection, go to the sacraments once a week : not those only who aim so high, but all in general lead a most innocent life, and worthy of the first ages of christianity. There is a most perfect union and charity among them. Their goods are common ; they are utter strangers to ambition and covetousness ; nor is disunion or law suits known in these colonies.

Such

Such care is taken to inspire them with a horror for all sins of impurity, that faults of this kind happen very seldom. The service of God, and the care of their families takes up their whole attention. Many things contribute to the innocent life of the new christians; first, the great care that is taken to instruct them at set times concerning the duties of their state; secondly, the edifying and holy life of those who have care of them; and lastly, the little commerce they have with any other *Europeans*. There is not a mine either of gold or silver in all this country, nor any thing else that invites foreigners to settle there; and if, as it sometimes happens, any *Spaniards* take this road to *Potosi*, or *Lima*, there are express orders from the court of *Spain*, not to let them make above three days stay in any of these towns; there is a house to lodge passengers in every town; but their three days expired they must pursue their journey, unless hindered by sickness. Another thing which very much contributes to the temporal and eternal welfare of these *Indians*, is that wise and uniform conduct of all the Missionaries, from the foundation of the Mission to this time. In every town there is one above the rest whom they call their *Fiscal*; he is always a man in years, and one who is noted for the regularity of his life; he has an eye upon all the town, especially

cially in what concerns the service of God. He has the names of all the inhabitants, the heads of families, the number of women and children. He observes who are absent from mass, prayers, or sermons, and informs himself of their reasons. He has an officer under him to help to discharge his office, whom they call his *Teniente*, who has care of the children; he sees that the masters do their duty, and that the children are assiduous at schools, whither he also accompanies them. These officers have others under them, more or less according to the number of inhabitants. Besides this the town is divided into several quarters, each of which has its peculiar overseer, who is always a person of great zeal and fervor. If there happens any quarrel or any misdemeanor, the Fiscal is immediately advertised, whose duty it is to acquaint the Missionaries; if the matter is private, the delinquent is admonished in private for the first time; if it happens again, he is penanced accordingly: if his fault is public and scandalous, he is reprimanded before all the town; they bear this confusion with such submission and docility, that it frequently moved me to tears. The guilty person always thanks the Missionary for the care he takes of his welfare. This is an inviolable custom among them, and to omit it would be a sign of a very bad disposition. Care is  
taken



taken to marry them as soon as they come to a proper age, which prevents an infinity of disorders. This in general is the conduct of the Missionaries as to spirituals. I should never make an end if I would descend to the several pious inventions, which their ingenious zeal has set on foot for the increase of piety and devotion amongst their Neophytes.

The management of their temporal affairs is still more singular ; and I believe the like is not to be found in any Mission. Before the Fathers of the society preached the gospel in *Paraguay*, the inhabitants were mere barbarians, without religion, or law ; or even so much as a fixt and stable habitation ; they ranged the woods they were born and bred in, or along the banks of their rivers ; their only business was to find a subsistence for themselves and their families, which always moved with them. Whether they had any notion of agriculture, or were too lazy to take any pains for tilling the ground, they lived on wild fruits which the woods supplied, or fish which abounds in the rivers, or the game they took with hunting ; and changed their quarters as soon as provisions grew scarce. The Jesuits animated with the zeal of souls undertook the hard and perilous task of bringing those nations under the yoke of Christ, which the brave achievements of their countrymen had subjected to the crown  
of

of *Spain*. They entered their vast forests with an unparalleled courage, and you may easily imagine what they had to undergo; they were first to make rational creatures of animals that had little else but the shape of men, before they could pretend to make them christians. They followed them with invincible patience wherever they went; their sweetness and longanimity made some impression upon their gross and material minds; they gave ear to their instructions, and the grace of God working jointly with these apostolical men, they converted thousands to the faith of Christ. But they perceived their labour lost, unless they could get them to live like the rest of the world: wherefore their first step was to make them sensible of the advantages of living always in a place. They sent to *Buenos Ayres* for cows, oxen, sheep, horses, and mules, which multiplied in a short time so as to answer the wants of their Neophytes; they also got from thence all sorts of instruments either to cut down their woods, or to cultivate the country; besides all sorts of grain which the soil would bear: after this they taught their converts to make lime and brick; the Missionaries laid the plan of their houses, and were always the first at work; they soon enjoyed the fruits of their labours, in three different towns which they formed. The new inhabitants actuated with  
that

that charity, which true religion inspires into its profelytes, endeavoured first to impart the happiness they enjoyed to their relations, and so to the rest of their countrymen. They made frequent sallies into the most remote parts of their forests, and seldom came home without several new inhabitants; the sweetness, with which they were received, soothed their barbarous and harsh tempers, and while all hands were at work to build them houses, the Missionaries disposed them for baptism; which they had no sooner received, but Apostle like they went to invite their acquaintance to partake of their happiness. The number of inhabitants daily increasing they began to think of forming new habitations; the old towns furnished all necessaries for the new ones, which in time these were able to do in their turns for others which were built in their neighbourhood. Thus in some years above a hundred towns were built, whose inhabitants are perfectly well instructed in all the duties of a christian, and whose lives correspond with their belief. The Missionaries who have care of this flourishing number of christians, have not in the least degenerated from the zeal of their ancestors. They still advance to the north, and daily increase the kingdom of Christ. When there comes a new recruit of Missionaries from *Spain*, the provincial sends them to the far-



these parts of the country, to relieve those that have spent many years in quest of those barbarians among their forests, and are worn out with the fatigue of this laborious Mission; the old ones are sent to take care of the christians in the colonies that were first erected. In the town of which I speak, there were four of these antient Missionaries, venerable for their gray hairs, but much more for the sanctity of their lives. I was astonished to hear them call the insupportable labours they here underwent a life of quiet and rest. I am confident three of the most zealous priests in *Europe* would find it very hard to do the work of any one of these apostolical men. As they built new towns they assigned them their bounds, so to hinder all quarels and misunderstandings: some were allowed four-score or a hundred miles round about more or less, according to the number of the inhabitants. One of their first cares was to examine the nature of the soil they had to cultivate; where it was fit for pasturage they put their cattle, and tilled it where they thought it to their advantage. Some of the inhabitants were set to tend their herds, and others to manure their lands. Tradesmen were got from *Buenos Ayres*, to teach the *Indians* the trades necessary for civil society: their application, and their genius which is incomparable for all mechanics in general, made

made them soon learn what they were taught ; and having had time enough since to perfect themselves in their different trades, they are very ingenious, and excel in several.

All their cloaths are of their own making. They go clad in cotton in summer, and in woollen in winter. As idleness is a stranger among them, they are very sedulous each one at his business ; they weave much more than is sufficient for them ; the overplus is sent to *Buenos Ayres*, *Cordova*, and *Tacuman* ; the price of it is employed in different *European* commodities. They also drive a considerable trade of a certain weed, which is near as much esteemed in *Cbili* and *Peru*, as tea in *Europe*, tho' tis much cheaper ; the common price being half a crown a pound in *Peru* ; the gain is equally divided among the inhabitants. Their houses are but a story high, except the Missionaries, which is commonly two. As they only built to shelter themselves from the weather, they have spared the pains of any superfluous ornaments of architecture. The church of the town I have been speaking of, is a noble and magnificent structure ; they had the plan from *Europe*, and the *Indians* have executed it perfectly well. The church is all of free stone ; within it is adorned with paintings drawn by the *Indians*. The altar frames are in an elegant taste and all gilt ; the vestry is

furnished with plate and very neat vestments and ornaments. This church would make a figure in the best towns in *Europe*. But what surprised me most in these Missions, is the regular and methodical order with which they provide for the subsistence of their new converts. All the product of the year is carried to the public granary; there are so many persons appointed, whose business it is to take an exact account of all that is brought into these magazines. At the beginning of every month all these corn officers give out what is necessary to the chiefs of the several quarters of the town, by whom each family is allowed what is sufficient for a month's subsistence. There is in like manner an equal distribution of other provisions. A set number of sheep and oxen is daily brought to town, which are slaughtered and delivered up to the proper officers, from whom the rest of the inhabitants are to receive their allowance. Thus poverty and riches are equally strangers among them.

There are moreover several large hospitals for the sick: the men have a separate one from the women. As the priests only take care of spirituals, there are three lay brothers; one is an apothecary, and has a shop very well furnished; and two more who take care of the temporal. They observe very narrowly those who distribute the provisions, to see that



that no one be wronged. I had heard a great deal in commendation of this Mission at *Buenos Ayres*, but it far surpassed the Idea I had formed of it. That modesty, sweetness, and charity, which reigns amongst these new christians, put me continually in mind of those happy times, when the professors of our holy religion did it honour, by the innocence and sanctity of their lives, and even made its very enemies admire and reverence it.

I should have thought myself happy to have spent the rest of my life in a place where God is so well served; and these eminent examples of christian perfection made a very deep impression upon me. But I was forced to submit to the orders of providence, which were contrary to my natural inclination. I had often attempted to take my leave of these reverend Missionaries, but their obliging and ingenuous charity had stopt me a whole fortnight. At last they acquiesced to my repeated instances, gave me guides, and one of their domestics, with provisions for all the rest of the way, from this town of *St. Francis Xavier* to *Cordova*. They reckon near upon five hundred miles from one to the other, which I compassed in a month. I passed thro' *St. Nicholas*, and *Conception*, two other towns of *Paraguay*. There are about fourteen or fifteen thousand inhabitants in each, which in all respects are like that of  
St.

*St. Francis Xavier.* They are built upon the bank of a little river, three days journey distant from each other. The Fathers of the Society received me with all the civility and charity imaginable. They observe the same order in these as in that I have hitherto been speaking of; you would take each town for a family, or a religious community under strict discipline.

*F I N I S.*  
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